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An analysis of two rural and two urban Head Start centers in the state of New York during the school year 1966-67 attempted to find out if rural-urban variables affect the administration of Head Start programs. The four programs were compared in terms of (1) community socioeconomic characteristics, (2) administrative organization, (3) pupil recruitment, (4) staff, (5) parent involvement, and, (6) follow through. Data were collected during field trip interviews and from examinations of proposals and office files at the centers. All Head Start programs were nursery-school, rather than academically, oriented. Results indicated that urban bureaucracy caused depersonalization of the staff and required more written reports than small rural administrative units. However, urban centers had better facilities, a wider range of personnel from which to choose teachers and aides, and a more heterogeneous population from which to recruit children than rural counterparts. Rural centers suffered from transportation problems and from unavailability of social, health, and psychological services. The advantages and disadvantages of Head Start centers being attached to a public school system are also discussed in the report. Appendix A is an interview guide used in the study. A bibliography is included. (MS)

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FINAL REPORT

OEO CONTRACT NO. OEO-4012

PROJECT HEAD START

THE URBAN AND RURAL CHALLENGE

by

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ABSTRACT

Purpose--To analyze the administration of Head Start centers operating during the 1966-7 school year in the upstate New York urban communities of Amsterdam and Utica, and rural school districts of Newfield and Red Creek.

Hypothesis--Rural-urban variables affect administrative performance of Head Start as it functions in contrasting environments.

Method--The basic approach was through comparative analysis of the four programs in terms of: (1) Community socio-economic characteristics (derived primarily from the U. S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960); (2) Administrative organization; (3) Pupil recruitment; (4) Staff; (5) Parent involvement; (6) Follow through. Most program data were collected during field trips in which key personnel were interviewed, proposals and office files examined.

Results--(1) Head Start was placed in the context of the community action program. Objectives were shown centering about institution of a comprehensive pre-school child development program that would involve disadvantaged

youngsters, parents, and community in a coordinated self-help effort to intervene in the poverty cycle.

(2) Demographic, socio-economic and political variables affecting rural-urban administration: (a) Racial and ethnic homogenity was the rule for the rural but not urban areas; (b) Poverty indices were highest at the large city core, as was population mobility; (c) In rural areas, school district boundaries crossed political jurisdictions, complicated relationships with community action agencies.

(3) Urban-rural factors in local program inputs and outputs: (a) Heterogeneous racial population affected pupil, staff, and parent inputs in terms of integration, staff peer models, and parents' participation; (b) More "hard core" emotional disturbances were uncovered among pupils in the larger city than elsewhere; (c) Both rural and urban programs were of the traditional "nursery school" rather than "academically oriented" genre; (c) Determining whether outputs spurred institutional change was difficult, because several forces were working to stimulate more effective school system response to needs of the disadvantaged. Utica community action agency administrators consciously tried to catalyze institutional reform.

(4) Kinds of administrative problems unique to rural and urban settings, and procedures deemed most effective in managing them: (a) Problems of bureaucratic rigidity grow with population size and density. Cited with approval were Utica's free-wheeling teacher meetings, plus greater effort to increase participatory democracy; (b) Rural areas lack resources, particularly for supportive service. Tompkins County's community action agency displayed initiative in hiring a social worker to share services between Newfield and Ithaca. (c) "Core" cities face problems arising from racial heterogeneity. A Negro representation on Utica's staff was a healthy sign, as was Amsterdam's hiring of a Spanish speaking social worker and aide. Closer attention to racial population when locating centers and allocating pupils, and more extensive busing were among devices suggested to further pupil integration. (d) Transportation needs in rural areas were easily soluble through school buses. Problems of parent involvement transcended transportation difficulties, called for a creative approach geared more realistically to their life situations. (e) The problem of school system versus community action agency

sponsorship was evaluated. Integrating Head Start teachers into the regular school system was judged a plus, possible resistance to all the aims of the poverty program a school system minus. (f) Local initiative does not necessarily insure allocation of OEO resources to rural and urban communities in greatest want. Improved missionary work by regional offices and state technical assistance agencies is called for. (g) With all delegates, the crucial question arose of the best kind of controls to assure compliance. Head Start was pictured within a maze of external control mechanisms, the central office funding "stick" primary among them. Incentives to goal realization are believed to arise more from the intrinsic ideological commitment of individual administrators. The administrative environment of a medium-sized city such as Utica, large enough to support a stable multi-purpose community action agency encompassing Head Start, appeared to offer optimum conditions for realizing coordinated aims of the anti-poverty program.

PREFACE

This study was conducted pursuant to a contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity, Executive Office of the President, Washington, D. C. Head Start is perhaps the most popular component of the community action program authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Social intervention to help the child and his family break out of the cycle of poverty still stirs the national imagination, stimulates creative planning for goal implementation.

Administration represents a somewhat different focus from the more usual educational and psychological hypotheses on which most Head Start research is based. An analysis of administrative problems posed by differing environments should contribute to the continuous process through which administration of the program is molded into a more effective instrument of goal fulfillment.

Many persons aided in the production of this report. Once Professor Alan K. Campbell learned of my interest in Head Start, he suggested the topic for investigation and performed yeoman service as co-director of the project. Professors Frank Munger and Seymour Sacks furnished valuable

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counsel as members of my advisory committee. Dr. Julius B. Richmond spoke with me during the exploratory phases of my investigation, and demonstrated friendly concern during later stages as well. Professor William J. Meyer, director of the Syracuse University Project Head Start Research and Evaluation Center, encouraged me to submit a proposal to the OEO, and gave much personal attention to my initial contacts with the Washington Office. I am also grateful to Mr. William C. Wheadon and L. Howard Patchen, of the Syracuse University Research Institute, for their assistance in this type of liaison. Mr. John Dopyera, of the Research and Evaluation Center, lent his consultative time generously.

Excellent cooperation was received from directors of all Head Start projects under investigation, and from other key personnel involved in their administration. Their names are listed in Appendix B. Warm feelings are reserved for Mrs. Ann Hayes of the Department of Social Science and Mrs. Jane Rood, of the Metropolitan Studies Program.

I am delighted to credit my husband and children. Their tolerance of my activities is exceeded only by my pride in being part of their family.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Head Start in the Community Action Program

Head Start was conceived as a major weapon in the community action program's "varied and coordinated campaign" to attack the network of social ills associated with poverty. Problems arising from poor health, housing, education, unemployment were believed to be linked in an inexorable, self-perpetuating poverty "cycle." A nationwide effort to break the chain culminated in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Although not cited in the law per se, authorization for Head Start derived from Title II, "Urban and Rural Community Action Programs."[1] R. Sargent Shriver, OEO Director, appointed a planning committee in the fall of 1964 to formulate guidelines for Head Start. President Johnson, in his Message to Congress on Education (January 12, 1965), requested $150 million for pre-school projects under Title II of the Opportunity Act.

Blitzkrieg tactics launched the "war" in summer 1965 to secure local community action for project sponsorship.

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[1] Economic Opportunity Act, Title II A, 42 USC Sec. 2781-91 (1964).

Through rapid mobilization, more than 500,000 children were enlisted in summer programs designed to more nearly equalize educational preparedness among all who would be entering the regular school system that fall. By August 31 the President announced extension of Operation Head Start to year round centers and follow-through projects, as well as summer classes.[2]

Project Head Start was installed in the federal Office of Economic Opportunity as a component of the Community Action Program. The Office of Economic Opportunity itself had been placed in the Executive Office of the President rather than in or among established departments. This location highlighted its significance in the administrative hierarchy, as well as its assigned role to coordinate federal, state, and local anti-poverty programs. Under the original plan, local community action agencies, major battalions in the fight, were to be funded directly by the OEO, bypassing states and even local governments. Implicit in the machinery were misgivings about the ability of states and existing public agencies at all levels to tackle

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[1] Congressional Quarterly, XXIII, No. 37 (September 10, 1965), p. 1843.

effectively the urgent tasks contemplated. Creation of the new Office also symbolized what was called a

> revolt against professionalism--the professionalism of welfare agencies, schools, vocational education, employment services, all of which had coexisted too comfortably with poverty.[1]

The term "community" was broadly defined in the Economic Opportunity Act to cover states, metropolitan areas, single or multiple local government units. Most assistance would be granted directly by the federal OEO to local community action agencies, but some money was allotted to the states. Distribution of aid to the states to carry out Title II was to be made in accordance with a formula that took into account total's of public assistance recipients, magnitudes of unemployment, and numbers of minor children living in families with incomes less than $1000. Grants or contracts from the OEO Director were authorized for State agencies whose major function in relation to local community action programs was to be technical assistance.[2]

Both public and private resources were to be utilized. The largest part of OEO aid would be extended to programs conducted in whole or in part by public or private nonprofit agencies (other than political parties). In allocating funds the Director of OEO was to consider both the incidence of poverty in the community, and the agency's ability to utilize the aid "effectively and expeditiously."

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[1] Nathan Glazer, "To Produce a Creative Disorder--The Grand Design of the Poverty Program," New York Times Magazine, February 27, 1966, p. 1.

[2] Economic Opportunity Act, Title II-A.

Funds were later made available under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 for a wide variety of programs to meet the educational needs of children from low-income families. Recipients could allocate some of this money to pre-school projects conducted, according to their discretion, in Head Start "style." Only local school systems were eligible for assistance under ESEA, however, a restriction not placed upon OEO sponsors. Local educational agencies (LEA's) were to apply through their appropriate state educational agencies for funds under ESEA, administered nationally by the Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Money secured from the OEO must be "matched" by the receiving agency with what was, in 1966, a ten per cent "in-kind contribution" of space, equipment, services, etc. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act contained no prerequisite of this type. The EO Act required, too, that programs "show promise of making a meaningful contribution to the elimination of poverty."

Memos issued by the OEO and Office of Education set forth procedures for coordinating the work of CAA's (Community Action Agencies) and LEA's. Projects were to be developed cooperatively in areas where a CAA existed in the LEA's jurisdiction. Educational agency applications for programs to assist disadvantaged children were to be accompanied by statements of support from the CAA. "Checkpoint procedures" for coordinating community action programs with other local organization projects, it should be added, were included in all CAA proposals.

LEA's, as well as private and public agencies, such as churches and social welfare groups, were also eligible to sponsor OEO Head Start projects. They could apply through a local "umbrella" CAA if in existence, or as single purpose agencies. Ideally, single purpose agencies might constitute "building blocks" toward later evolution of a broader multipurpose community action program in the area.

The Problem

Local administration of Head Start projects through the community action program reflected the OEO's "confidence in the ability of individual communities to organize and carry out anti-poverty programs tailored to local needs and priorities."[1] "Local needs" may vary for many reasons, including socio-economic status, kind and experience of school system, government framework, energy and skills of potential leaders. This paper focuses on the "needs" of communities exhibiting differing degrees of urbanization. It seeks to evaluate the administration of Head Start centers operating during the 1966-1967 school year in four selected upstate New York areas broadly classified as "rural" or "urban." The city-rural comparison was intentionally chosen to determine the distinctive administrative requirements of the programs in contrasting environments.

Even as used by social scientists, the rural-urban rubrics are more often stereotypes than valid descriptions. Duncan contends that no real dichotomy of ecological characteristics exists between the two types of area. They display gradations in demographic and sociological variables, so that the model of a continuum relationship between the two is not strictly valid as a measuring tool.[1] Philip Hauser labels most current descriptions of rural versus urban society "catchy neologisms" consisting of "confounded variables and, in fact, complex systems of variables which have yet to be unscrambled."[2] Oscar Lewis agrees. He believes that one of the most distinctive features of the city is the variety of services and other aspects of living offered Urban dwellers. Lewis would measure degree of urbanization by the extent to which people in different sectors of the city, or even in villages and towns, can partake of those services. Thus, he recognizes many life-styles within a given community, especially a "culture of poverty" cutting across purely physical boundaries otherwise designated "rural" or "urban."[3]

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[1] The War on Poverty, A Hometown Fight (Washington, D. C.: Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action Program [1965]), p. 5.

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[1] Otis Dudley Duncan, "Community Size and the Rural-Urban Continuum," _Urban Research Methods_, ed. by Jack P. Gibbs (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1961), p. 503.

[2] _The Study of Urbanization_, ed. by P. M. Hauser and L. F. Schnore. Philip M. Hauser, "Observations on the Urban-folk and Urban-rural Dichotomies as Forms of Western Ethnocentrism," (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965), p. 514.

[3] _The Study of Urbanization_, Oscar Lewis, "Further Observations on the Folk-Urban Continuum and Urbanization with Special Reference to Mexico City," p. 501.

The Office of Economic Opportunity also affirmed that the "culture of poverty" was not confined to either city or country. Its criterion for determining eligibility, the so-called "incidence" of poverty, was defined in the Economic Opportunity Act. Information relevant to the incidence assessment could include: "the concentration of low-income families, particularly those with children; the extent of persistent unemployment and underemployment, the number of migrant or transient low-income families; school dropout rates, military service rejection rates, and other evidences of low educational attainment; the incidence of disease, disability, and infant mortality; housing conditions . . ."[1] This data was to be presented by the applicant on a "community information form" prepared by the OEO. Rural-urban differentials were reflected in the higher level of income accepted by the OEO as the poverty line for non-farm as opposed to farm households. (See p. 15). The U. S. Census classified seventy-one per cent of the population as urban and twenty-nine per cent rural in 1960, but the division among those qualifying as "poor" according to

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[1] Economic Opportunity Act, Sec. 205(c).

OEO income standards was 43.4 per cent rural (farm and non-farm) and 56.6 per cent urban.

The most significant elements of the much used Census Bureau definition are summarized in the N. Y. State Business Fact Book:

> Urban population includes all persons living in incorporated or unincorporated communities of 2500 population or more, or in the densely urban fringe around cities of 50,000 inhabitants or more. Such a city (or group of cities) together with its urban fringe is an urbanized area. The remaining population is classified as Rural and divided between Rural non-farm (which includes all persons living in rural areas, without regard to occupation, but not on farms) and Rural Farm.[1]

Among the multitude of rural and urban places that might constitute sample study areas, practical problems emerged concerning physical accessibility and willingness of local officials to cooperate in data collection. Directors of the Syracuse University Head Start Research and Evaluation Center were able to complete arrangements for educational and psychological research with administrators of Head Start programs in six upstate New York Communities. R and E Center data on matters such as parent attitudes and staff backgrounds would prove valuable supplements to other information contained in this report. Four of their sample areas were therefore selected for the present study as most nearly meeting the definition of "rural" and "urban." The cities of Amsterdam and Utica qualify in the latter category, the school districts of Newfield and Red Creek in the former.

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[1] N. Y. State Department of Commerce, New York State Business Fact Book, 1963, Part 2, Population and Housing, p. 11.

Despite overlapping ecological characteristics, administrative problems peculiar to "small town" or "big city" areas must inevitably arise. Daily bus transportation, for example, is required in rural school districts but not in central city neighborhoods. Sheer size of preschool population in urban areas affects manageability. Questions of ethnicity and race are urgent in the core of a city such as Utica. How well the administrator implements the major anti-poverty goal of social change hinges on his success in dealing with these ecological "givens."

Objectives and Procedures

The basic approach is through comparative analysis of the administration of Head Start projects functioning during the 1966-7 school year in the upstate New York urban communities of Amsterdam and Utica, and rural school districts of Newfield and Red Creek. Administration, in this sense, is viewed as both a dependent and independent variable, influencing and influenced by its environment.

Specific objectives are:

1. to identify the social and educational aims of the Head Start program;
2. to isolate the demographic, socio-economic, and political variables that affect Project administration in communities characterized by differing degrees of urbanization;
3. to analyze urban-rural factors in local program inputs and outputs;
4. to investigate whether certain kinds of administrative problems are unique to rural as compared with urban settings, and are in turn reflected in the classroom situation;
5. to evaluate procedures deemed most effective in handling such problems.

Because administration is an instrument of goal fulfillment, Chapter II consists of a brief review of the philosophy and aims of the Head Start program. Social and educational objectives are shown evolving from landmark studies of poverty, child development, and cultural deprivation, and demonstration projects such as those conducted by the Ford Foundation and President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency.

One chapter is devoted to each of the sample communities, with data presented in parallel form under the following sub-heads:

1. Socio-economic profile;
2. Administrative organization of the program;
3. Pupil recruitment;
4. Staff;
5. Parent involvement;
6. Follow-through.

Each socio-economic profile contains available statistics selected from data requested by the OEO for the community information form that is a routine feature of community action program applications (CAP 5). Figures comprising the "community information" tables presented in this study are not identical with those that appear in the Head Start applications. The CAP 5 forms had usually been prepared when the first proposal was made in 1965. Origin of the data was not always clear. In the interest of uniformity, all statistics were checked out by the principal investigator with the 1960 U. S. Census of Population and Housing. Representative items were population, number and percent of families with poverty incomes, percentages of unemployment, numbers and percents of substandard housing units, country of origin of the foreign stock. To update some of this eight-year old material, reference was made to sources such as economic and population studies conducted by local private consultants or public planning groups, newspaper and other reports. In one instance, Wayne County, a special CAP survey had been conducted on characteristics of the county poor. Only the Tompkins and Wayne County Social Service Departments responded to letters soliciting information on numbers of AFDC and OAA recipients in their communities.

Data on the programs themselves were collected during field trips to the four areas. Interviews conducted in person by the principal investigator were held with key personnel. (The list of persons interviewed constitutes Appendix B .) A questionnaire for this purpose was devised by the principal investigator and her professional advisers, based somewhat loosely on a schedule developed for the Metropolitan School Study Council in 1944.[1] It consists of questions with a sampling of possible answers to each. Like the Metropolitan School Study schedule, the purpose was analysis and description rather than appraisal.

The interview form served as a guide. Conversation revealed whether more or less information could be elicited from the respondent than the specific questions called for. Except for the program directors, most persons queried had knowledge of some but not all the areas under investigation. A copy of the questionnaire, listed as Appendix A, illustrates that items were centered about four general topics. These topics coincide with four sub-headings already designated for the chapters describing the sample Head Start projects:

1. Administrative organization;
2. Pupil recruitment;
3. Staff;
4. Parent involvement.

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[1] Paul R. Mort, Arvid J. Burke and Robert S. Fisk, _A Guide for the Analysis and Description of Public School Services_ (New York: Metropolitan School Study Council, 1944).

An eclectic approach governed data collection for the following chapters. Besides the interview schedule, sources such as newspaper items, office records, and minutes of meetings were on hand to supplement recollections from imperfect memories. Head Start proposals, obtained from individual directors or from the OEO Regional Office in New York City, were referred to for the basic program outline. Correspondence files from both these sources, and from local community action agencies, were also examined.

The final chapter summarizes and compares factors influencing administration of the projects in their contrasting environments. Under each sub-head major OEO guidelines are listed, then rural-urban determinants exemplified in the study are examined. Conclusions are presented in terms of the five objectives specified on page 11.

Drawing the Poverty Line

The intensity of poverty eludes easy identification by any simple monetary instrument. Living standards varying quantitatively as well as qualitatively cast doubt upon adoption of an across the board formula. Defining the poor has therefore involved subjective and arbitrary determinations that arouse controversy because they constitute the foundation of major public policy. The Council of Economic Advisers, in haste to meet the deadline for the anti-poverty program of 1964, developed a crude measure of "those whose basic needs exceed their means to satisfy them."[1] They set the cash income required to meet minimum living standards in 1962 at three thousand dollars for families of two or more, and fifteen hundred dollars for unrelated individuals.

Mollie Orshansky, statistician for the Social Security Administration, led the search in 1965 for a more flexible "poverty line" that would weigh factors indicating differential need, not taken into account by the Council of Economic Advisers. A moveable threshold was established by multiplying prices and quantities of foods estimated by the Department of agriculture in its so-called "economy budget" to meet the minimum nutritional requirements of men, women, and children in various age groups. Calculations were made for 124 different types of families classified according to age and sex of the head, number of children, farm or non-farm residence. The OEO has adopted this formula as a "working tool," pending further research, in defining its poverty categories.[1] The following "poverty line" index, established by the OEO, was therefore used as base for determining eligibility of children for fall 1966 Head Start programs:

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[1] U.S., Council of Economic Advisers, Annual Report (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964), p. 57.

TABLE 1.--Family Income Criteria for Participation in OEO Poverty Programs, 1966.

Non-farm Households		Farm Households	
Persons	Family Income	Persons	Family Income
1	$1,500	1	$1,050
2	2,000	2	1,400
3	2,500	3	1,750
4	3,000	4	2,100
5	3,500	5	2,450
6	4,000	6	2,800
Over 6- add $500 for each additional person		Over 6- add $350 for each additional person	

Source: *Instructions, How To Apply For A Head Start Child Development Program*, Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action Program (Washington, D.C.: September, 1966), p. 40.

Note: Ninety per cent of the children recruited for Head Start in 1966-1967 must have been selected on the above standard. Children from a family on welfare, however, were considered eligible even though the family income might exceed these allowable amounts. Those whose level of family income fell below the poverty line were called "target area" persons.

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[1] See Mollie Orshansky, "Measuring Poverty," in *The Social Welfare Forum*, Proceedings of the National Conference on Social Welfare, 1965 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. 214.

The Poverty Index

Interestingly enough, the aggregate number of poor said to live in the United States in 1963 was almost the same if estimated by the two previous formulas. The Council of Economic Advisers' calculations yielded 33.5 million persons and the Orshansky tabulations 34.6 million. An extra 1.5 million needy farm residents were counted by the CEA, however. Because no adjustment had been made for family size, their total also contained four million fewer impoverished children than that reached through the flexible measure.[1]

In 1966 the Bureau of the Census developed a poverty area designation for the Office of Economic Opportunity. Areas were determined by ranking census tracts in SMSA's of 250,000 or more by the relative presence

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[1] Herman P. Miller, "Changes in the Number and Composition of the Poor," *Poverty in America*, ed. by Margaret S. Gordon (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965), p. 85.

(according to the 1960 Census) of each of five equally weighted poverty-linked characteristics, combined into what was labeled a "poverty index."[1] These classifications had been selected out of a factor analysis of data for counties in the State of Missouri and for all urban places of fifty thousand or more in the United States. Four of the factors were found to have the highest positive correlations with family income under three thousand dollars and with each other. The poverty index was therefore constructed of the following five socio-economic characteristics:

1. Per cent of families with money incomes under three thousand dollars in 1959.
2. Per cent of children under eighteen years old not living with both parents.
3. Per cent of persons twenty-five years old and over with less than eight years of school completed.
4. Per cent of unskilled males (laborers and service workers) in the employed civilian labor force.
5. Per cent of housing units dilapidated or lacking some or all plumbing facilities.

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[1] See Characteristics of Families Residing in "Poverty Areas" March 1966, Technical Studies Series P-23, No. 19 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, August 24, 1966).

A further analysis of census tracts from four upstate New York SMSA's and tracts in Alabama, Florida, and the District of Columbia reinforced the conclusion that the poverty index was more descriptive of impoverished neighborhoods than the criterion of family income alone. Tracts falling in the "lowest" quartile (meaning those with the highest poverty indices) were called "poor" tracts, and linked by the Census Bureau into poverty neighborhoods.

The following "poverty indices" were developed by the principal investigator for the sample communities chosen for this study (Table 2).

All statistics were derived from published and unpublished materials of the U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1960 Census of Population and Housing. Data are shown for Utica census tracts included within boundaries of poverty neighborhoods delineated by the Utica Community Action Commission on Map 1, p. 44. As will be explained in the chapter on Red Creek, that school district cuts through five towns in two different counties. Census information believed to portray an accurate statistical picture of the area is presented for the towns of Sterling (in Cayuga County) and Wolcott (in Wayne County).

TABLE 2.--Poverty Indices, Sample Communities and Utica Poverty Neighborhoods,

			Per Cent of S	
	Population	All Families	Poverty Index	Families with income under $3,000
UTICA (City)	100,410	25,506	21.2	15.
Inner City				
Census Tract 1A	264	52	68.6	59.
Census Tract 2A	1,789	338	46.8	56.
Census Tract 3	1,784	348	29.8	15.
Census Tract 4	1,976	368	27.3	24.
TOTAL	5,813	1,106	36.8	33.
East Utica				
Census Tract 8B	6,062	1,675	22.9	19.
Census Tract 8C	5,900	1,548	30.2	26.
Census Tract 10	3,275	850	30.2	25.
Census Tract 5	1,022	272	35.1	43.
TOTAL	16,259	4,345	24.0	28.
Cornhill				
Census Tract 7A	5,975	1,512	14.8	13.
Census Tract 12A	4,287	1,136	24.2	17.
Census Tract 15	5,320	1,394	16.1	17.
TOTAL	15,582	4,042	16.8	15.
AMSTERDAM	28,772	8,003	17.6	18.
NEWFIELD	2,193	522	23.2	22.
RED CREEK SCHOOL DISTRICT				
Sterling	2,495	641	26.0	26
Wolcott	3,556	943	25.2	28

Source: Published and unpublished data, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau o
1960 and U.S. Census of Housing: 1960.

verty Neighborhoods, 1960.

Per Cent of Socio-Economic Characteristics					
Poverty Index	Families with income under $3,000	Children -18 not living with both parents	Persons 25+ with -8 years of schooling	Unskilled males in employed civilian labor force	Substandard housing units
21.2	15.7	12.4	37.1	13.4	27.5
68.6	59.6	86.0	54.8	46.3	96.4
46.8	56.5	43.4	50.4	28.5	55.2
29.8	15.8	22.1	34.0	28.4	48.8
27.3	24.7	11.6	27.1	28.3	44.8
36.8	33.2	34.9	35.4	29.6	50.8
22.9	19.3	9.8	37.9	22.5	25.2
30.2	26.4	16.0	43.0	18.9	46.5
30.2	25.7	19.9	34.8	15.3	55.5
35.1	43.0	29.7	26.4	19.3	57.1
24.0	28.6	15.4	40.0	19.3	41.9
14.8	13.3	19.0	11.1	14.0	16.8
24.2	17.5	8.0	12.2	15.2	58.0
16.1	17.6	13.3	19.5	9.4	20.7
16.8	15.8	11.1	16.8	12.6	27.9
17.6	18.0	9.3	29.3	14.9	17.4
23.2	22.5	7.7	21.3	14.3	50.2
26.0	26.5	4.4	20.0	20.1	57.3
25.2	28.0	12.4	22.0	20.4	43.1

of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. *Census of Population*:

Table 2 demonstrates the manner in which poverty in contemporary American cities clusters around the core. Poverty measured in this report was nowhere as intense as in Utica's Inner City census tracts 1A and 2A, site of two Head Start centers and two overwhelmingly Negro public housing projects. Non-white population in the Cornhill neighborhood in 1960 was negligible, but since the decennial Census Negroes in Utica have been moving to that section. Cornhill's poverty index in 1960 was relatively low (16.8). The substantial percentage of substandard units in at least one of its census tracts (fifty-eight per cent in 12A) served as forecast, however, that the area would soon provide living quarters for the city's poorest population.

Head Start centers located close to the Utica city periphery were situated on "islands" formed by public housing projects. Two of Amsterdam's three centers were also housed in more or less "inner city" schools, but census tract breakdown is not available for Amsterdam.

Poverty indices for the rural school districts of Newfield and Red Creek were fairly high (over 23.7), but much lower than for the worst Utica census tracts. A close correlation may be noted, on the table, between the poverty index and column indicating percentage of families with money income under three thousand dollars. Percentages of housing units "lacking some or all plumbing facilities" are generally highest among the columns.

Other Socio-Economic Characteristics

Table 3 illustrates that Utica had more than three times the population of Amsterdam. Red Creek's total school enrollment in 1966 (1329) was almost twice as high as Newfield's (775), although the disparity between 1960 total populations as estimated on the Head Start applications was not at all of that magnitude (3300 vs. 2700).

Enormous differences in population density existed between the rural and urban areas. The number of persons residing on each square mile of land in Utica and Amsterdam averaged 5900 and 4795 respectively, offering sharp contrast to Red Creek and Newfield's 33 and 36.5. Unlike the cities, neighborhood Head Start units were not feasible in the sparsely settled rural school districts, where one center served each of the areas.

TABLE 3.--Selected Socio-Economic Statistics, Sample Communities and Utica

	Population	Size (Sq. Miles)	Population Density per Square Mile	School Enrollment 9/66
UTICA (City)	100,410	17	5,900	15,200
Inner City	5,813			
East Utica	16,259			
Cornhill	15,582			
AMSTERDAM	28,772	6	4,795	4,800
NEWFIELD (Town)	2,193	60	36.5	
School District	2,790[a]			775
RED CREEK SCHOOL DISTRICT	3,300[a]	100[b]	33.0	1,329
Sterling	2,495			
Wolcott	3,556			

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[a] Estimate presented on Head Start application.

[b] Estimate of School Clerk , Red Creek Central School.

Source: Published and unpublished data, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bure
School enrollment figures, N.Y. State Department of Audit and Co

and Utica Poverty Neighborhoods, 1960.

School Enrollment 9/66	Per cent unemployed males	Per cent unemployed females	Per cent non-white	Dominant Ethnic Stock
15,200	7.6	7.8	3.1	Italian Polish
	10.2	9.6	35.0	Polish
	12.8	12.4	3.7	Italian
	8.7	7.4	0.7	Italian United Kingdom
4,800	9.2	10.0	0.6	Polish Italian
	6.2	5.6	0.6	Some Finnish
775				
1,329				
	7.7	8.6	neg.	English
	9.9	21.6	1.9	Canadian

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mmerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960
Audit and Control, Preliminary Estimates.

Utica was the only community with a measurable Negro population, 3.1 per cent in the city as a whole, thirty-five per cent in the Inner City neighborhood. In Amsterdam, a new ethnic equation had been introduced into the East Main Street neighborhood, by the settlement of about one hundred newly arrived Spanish American families, most from Puerto Rico. Among Utica's foreign stock, about forty per cent were of Italian, seventeen per cent of Polish origin. Some 32.5 per cent of Amsterdam's foreign stock were Polish, 27.3 per cent Italian. Children at the Newfield and Red Creek centers came from similar ethnic backgrounds in those generally homogeneous areas. The Newfield school principal estimated that about one-fourth of the population were of Finnish ancestry.

Amsterdam's poverty index was a relatively low 17.5. Its eligibility for federal assistance was determined chiefly through statistics of "persistent unemployment and underemployment." Precipitous out-migration of the city's famed carpet manufacturers during the 1950's had sent the local unemployment rate soaring to fourteen per cent in 1958, was recorded at 9,2 per cent for males, ten per cent for females in 1960, is still greater than five per cent.

CHAPTER II

THE PHIILOSOPHY AND AIMS OF THE HEAD START PROGRAM

Head Start is based on a broad theory of poverty causation and control. It originated as one of the intensive programs of social intervention planned for the current generation of poor to aid in developing inner directed efforts at raising their own status.[1] Projects such as Head Start, Vista, and Job Corps were innovative in concept, designed to function outside the existing sphere of institutions. They were also conceived as catalysts that would mobilize community resources for self-help action. Dr. Julius B. Richmond, Director of Project Head Start, commented:

> Its unique commitment--to develop the total child in order to maximize his potential not only for learning but also for living--has made Head Start a dynamic force in both the broad educational arena and the expanding frontier of total community development.[2]

The Head Start Child Development Program derives from a theory of education as well as poverty. Certain educational skills are held pre-requisite to participation in the gains of a highly technological society. A minimum developmental level is required of school-age children before they can be expected to learn such skills. The poverty milieu is a significant variable in impairing development, handicapping children right from birth by attitudes of insecurity and failure. Social and economic forces act independently in retarding their learning "sets" --educational inadequacies accumulate to perpetuate involvement in the poverty syndrome. Head Start, it is believed, can furnish an "intervention environment" to compensate for early deprivation through a good remedial child development program.

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[1] See Elizabeth Wickenden, "Social Change Through Federal Legislation," The Social Welfare Forum, 1965, p. 31.

[2] Julius B. Richmond, M.D., "Beliefs in Action," Childhood Education, XLIV, No. 1 (September 1967), p. 4.

According to the Office of Economic Opportunity, a "quality" Head Start project should provide:

> a. A program to help both the child and his family. There must be the widest possible opportunities for parents to participate in the program decisions and operations and themselves be beneficiaries of the program;
>
> b. A comprehensive range of (supportive) services;
>
> c. A true community project involving cooperation among the professional and nonprofessional staffs, parents . . .

government agencies, and all citizens . . ."[1]

Among "broad goals" more specifically enumerated in the 1967 Head Start Manual were:

> Helping the child's emotional and social development by encouraging self-confidence, self-expression, self-discipline and curiosity . . . Improving and expanding the child's ability to think, reason and speak clearly . . . helping children to get wider and more varied experiences . . . giving the child frequent chances to succeed . . . developing a climate of confidence for the child which will make him want to learn . . . planning activities which allow groups from every social, ethnic and economic level in a community to join together with the poor in solving problems . . . helping both the child and his family to a greater confidence, self-respect and dignity.[2]

The Evolution of Community Action

Social reforms were introduced during the 1930's to alleviate economic effects of the severest business depression in American history. Its trauma was experienced by persons in almost every social class. Specific programs adopted in each period revealed differences in theory between the New

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[1] Instructions, How to Apply for a Head Start Child Development Program (Washington, D. C.: Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action Program, September, 1966), p. 3.

[2] Head Start Child Development Program, A Manual of Policies and Instructions, (Washington, D. C.: Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action Program, September, 1967), pp. 2-3.

Deal and Great Society.[1] Measures such as social security, unemployment insurance, and public works attempted to cushion economic distress: the poverty fight of the recent era attacked causes, sought more or less "permanent" cures.

The concept of community action evolved from experiments sponsored by private and public agencies during the post-war years.[2] In the late 1950's administrators of the Ford Foundation's Public Affairs Program began to turn away from emphasis on urban problem-solving through the paths of urban renewal and steps leading toward metropolitan government. Exploring the avenue of educational innovation, they extended grants to ten big city school systems to encourage the creation of community oriented schools in so-called grey areas. These sections were deteriorating city neighborhoods lying between the downtown and suburban sections. A more comprehensive approach toward social change in the grey areas was undertaken between 1961 and 1963. Ford Foundation funds were allocated in that time period to five cities and one state (North Carolina) for the purpose of stimulating concerted "community action" from a multitude of local agencies devoted to reform. The Public Affairs Department sponsored youth and delinquency programs concurrently, and later incorporated them into the grey area projects. Delinquency control was the purpose of another experiment that preceded the Ford projects in time, Mobilization for Youth. This research and action program on the Lower East Side of New York City, originated through a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health.

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[1] Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Intergovernmental Relations in the Poverty Program (Washington, D. C.: April 1966), pp. 75-77.

[2] Most of the data in the following three paragraphs is derived from Peter Marris and Martin Rein, Dilemmas of Social Reform (New York: Atherton Press, 1967).

Delinquency, as theorized by Mobilization's influential consultants Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, was a pathology of the economic and educational opportunity system. Social intervention was required to open presently closed avenues breeding frustration, alienation, and crime. Lloyd Ohlin was invited to help develop a federal program that resulted in an executive order of 1961 establishing the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth. Programs funded by the President's Committee and the Ford Foundation stressed a multi-pronged social action approach required to combat the interrelated factors conceived as responsible for juvenile crime.

While these projects were in operation, Michael Harrington published his book, The Other America. To Harrington, the poor formed a subculture in rural areas or city slums segregated both economically and racially, bypassed from view of the more affluent classes by modern transportation networks. He argued for an intensive campaign against the interdependent system into which the components of poverty were linked.[1] Only one institution possessed the scope and resources adequate to carry out this crusade, and that was the Federal government. The author eliminated, because of fundamental shortcomings, cities with their shrinking tax base, states dominated by conservative elements, and inadequately funded private agencies.

Harrington would not attempt to detail the mechanisms of the "war on poverty" (his phrase). In broad outline, the central government was to coordinate, to plan, to serve as source of funds, while a variety of institutions close to the local area would implement the programs. This philosophy was incorporated in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, particularly Title II.

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[1] Michael Harrington, The Other America (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963), p. 164.

Twelve of the sixteen projects funded under the juvenile delinquency program were transferred to the newly organized OEO. Community Action, as incorporated into the Opportunity Act, had a broader rationale than delinquency prevention. It "became an instrument of planning, through which the expertise of social science would coerce local administration into intelligent reform."[1] The Ford Foundation began to withdraw from the grey areas. Local agencies financed by the federal government became the major vehicles for administering what had evolved into a national anti-poverty effort.

The broad purpose of the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act, written into the law, was to "eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation . . ." Community action, the major means of inducing social change under the anti-poverty act, represents for Simon Slavin a "contemporary blend of social action and community development."[2] Emerging nations carry the enormous handicap imposed by lack of resources. The wealthy, industrialized United States, on the other hand, has experienced the

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[1] Marris and Rein, p. 209.

[2] Simon Slavin, "Community Action and Social Change," The Social Welfare Forum, p. 147.

"paradox" propounded above. A primary social task, acknowledged in the legislation, was to "mobilize" and "utilize" the huge national stock of material resources for optimal development of human resources. To this end, some reallocation of means and redefinition of priorities was deemed essential.

Operational elements of the anti-poverty and United Nations-defined community development programs were similar:

1. The clientele population was to participate-even more, must take the initiative in improving their own living conditions (to an extent, declared the Economic Opportunity Act, that was both "maximum" and "feasible.")
2. Technical assistance to the responsible central agency was to be furnished through instruments that encouraged maximum self-help and mutual help efforts.[1]

Theory of Development

Benjamin S. Bloom's theory of growth provides a framework for understanding the significance of the pre-school years in child development. Bloom reviewed one thousand longitudinal studies of stable characteristics reported by investigators in the United States and abroad over the past half century. Laws formulated from the studies were related to other literature on early childhood experience and the development of human attributes. "Stable" characteristics were defined as those that remained consistent when measured from one point in time to another. Basic measurements and processes such as height, general intelligence, deep-seated personality characteristics were held most likely to be stable.

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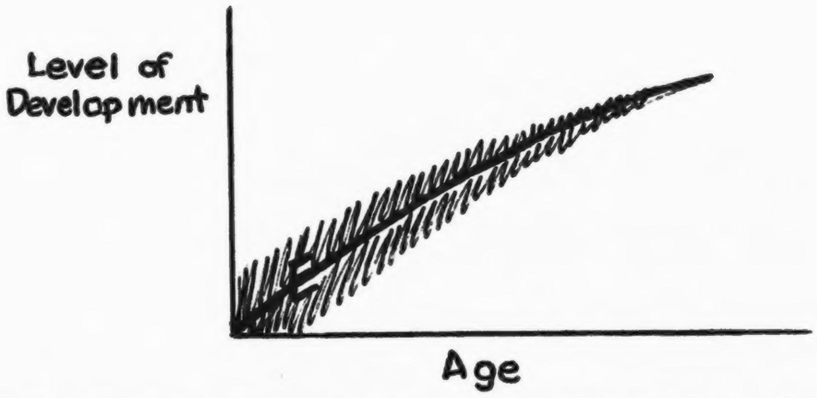
[1] *Ibid*., p. 150.

Bloom summarized his findings in the following graph:



"The single heavy line represents a typical developmental curve for a quantitative measure of some characteristic, and the shadow represents the limits of variation that the environment can produce at different points in the development."[1] This negatively accelerated curve reaches its midpoint before the age of five. Environment would therefore function most effectively upon the characteristic during its earliest, or most rapid period of growth. As the characteristic becomes increasingly stabilized, the limits of possible change diminish.

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[1] Benjamin S. Bloom, Stability and Change in Human Characteristics (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964), p. vii.

The early environment is of "crucial" importance, too, because much human growth is sequential in nature. Each level of development builds cumulatively upon the prior level reached by the characteristic, or on the base of other characteristics that precede it as growth takes place. It is, also, much easier to learn something entirely new than to first unlearn one set of behaviors before replacing with another set.

Although the effects of environment are difficult to measure, Bloom discovered some cases where a "very powerful environment" brought about similar changes in the large majority of persons exposed to it. He concluded that relatively few individuals were able to resist the effects of powerful environmental pressure exerted in "rather extreme instances of abundance or deprivation."

Bloom inquired, finally, whether present curves of development are the result of existing environmental conditions, or if they reflect some absolute limit of change in the specific characteristics. He sought to learn whether educational and therapeutic techniques can overcome the narrowing limits to change on the developmental curves.

The Concept of Cultural Deprivation

To Frank Riessman, the "culture" was viewed as an effort to cope with the surrounding environment. The term "culturally deprived" refers to "those aspects of middle class culture . . . from which lower socio-economic groups haven't benefited."[1] Their exposure to education, books, formal language has usually been limited. Riessman cautioned against patronization of the so-called disadvantaged. Drawing on his own experience, as well as relevant literature, he enumerated both strengths and weaknesses of the underprivileged. Middle-class oriented schools were chided for undervaluing the "culture of the deprived," in which children from "extended families" learn cooperation and egalitarianism, informality, warm humor. Such children are typically exposed to a "traditional" outlook toward life, where parental discipline is characterized by physical punishment, and learning is prized for its immediate, practical benefits. Riessman believed that "narrow pragmatism" and anti-intellectualism, significant handicaps resulting from marginal social environments, must be combated in a democratic society.

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[1] Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 3.

Deprived children, Riessman stated, are typically "physical learners," relatively slow in intellectual performance, but not necessarily dull. They lack academic "know how" in test taking, answering questions, auditory habits generally. Formal language requirements are their "Achilles heel." Riessman believed these deficiencies were reversible with proper educational techniques.

Social class differences in linguistic ability, crucial for concept formation and further learning potential, have long been noted by researchers. The Englishman Basil Bernstein did pioneer work in distinguishing two general types of language "code," labeled "elaborated" and "restricted." Children of the lower social strata, he observed, learn a restricted code, that raises "the relevance of the concrete and descriptive level of response . . . while inhibiting generalising ability in the higher ranges."[1] Children of the middle and upper classes, exposed to a more elaborated code, are taught to choose from a relatively extensive range of language elements, and can better organize meaning. Where the educational process requires an elaborated code, children already oriented to this code "are in a situation of symbolic development."

J. M. Hunt stated that the difference between the culturally deprived and culturally privileged was "analogous to the difference between cage-reared and pet-reared rats and dogs."[2] While the concept of deprivation was admittedly "gross and undifferentiated," he saw it pointing in the "very promising direction" of an institutional setting to provide antidotes. "If experimental deprivation does not persist too long, it is reversible to a substantial degree."

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[1] Basil Bernstein, "Linguistic Codes, Hesitation Phenomena, and Intelligence," in Education and Social Crisis, ed. by Everett T. Keach, Jr., Robert Fulton and William E. Gardner (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 183.

[2] J. McVicker Hunt, "The Psychological Basis for Using Pre-School Enrichment as an Antidote for Cultural Deprivation," in Pre-School Education Today, ed. by Fred M. Hechinger (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1966), pp. 53-54.

Modern educators have abandoned belief in a fixed intelligence and a level of development completely predetermined. The human brain, said Hunt, does not function like a static telephone switchboard. A computer is a better model for the mechanism, with experience the programmer.

Martin Deutsch concluded that lower class, as opposed to middle class children's total life experience lacks "contiguity" or "continuity" with the school situation. Most fail to receive an equal measure of "functionally relevant" support from family, community, or school. As a result, the child raised in a socially marginal environment is handicapped in developing "the same coping mechanisms for internalizing success or psychologically surviving failure in the formal learning setting."[1] His restricted sociocognitive preparation and anticipation render him a greater risk in subsequent experiences of failure, serve to alienate him from school and from the opportunity structure associated with it. Defeat in learning the complex functions required in a technological society keeps in motion the frustration perpetuating the poverty syndrome.

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[1] Martin Deutsch, "Early Social Environment; Its Influence on School Adaptation," in Pre-School Education Today, p. 14.

Validating Deutsch's argument were findings that the highest proportion of learning disabilities and school dropouts occur among children from economically marginal or semi-marginal groups. Studies correlating social class, learning, and school performance had produced overwhelming evidence that "children from backgrounds of social marginality enter first grade already behind their middle-class counterparts in a number of skills highly related to scholastic achievement."[1] These skills are chiefly in the area of perception and language. Current data indicate that class differences in perceptual abilities and "general environmental orientation" tend to decrease with chronological age, but language differences increase.

Compensatory Education

Compensatory education is grounded in the concept of intervention, developed by social psychologists and psychiatrists. The faith is strong that socially curative doses of therapy can counteract environmental deficiencies. Pre-school theorists are particularly optimistic about results to be achieved through administering educational antidotes to the plastic young organism at three to four years of age. To Deutsch, the crucial question was whether one institution, the school, could produce some kind of antecedent experience that would make up for preparational inadequacies in the poor child's home environment and the social structure generally. He hypothesized that an intensive, highly focused training program could help the youngster to cope with school demands. The aim would be, not to inculcate middle class "values," but to reinforce the development of basic communication skills and familiarity with tools of learning, i.e. books, toys, games.

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[1] Martin Deutsch, "Facilitating Development in the Pre-School Child: Social and Psychological Perspectives," in Pre-School Education Today, p. 80.

> Any successful solution will have to involve a confluence of institutional changes on the level of the child, of the curriculum, of teacher preparation, adequate school support, and community-school bridges with two-way traffic.[1]

Deutsch observed that lower status parents were not unmotivated or unappreciative of school accomplishment, but lacked understanding of how to go about making the school instrumental for their children. They must therefore be included in the learning process. Teachers ought, ideally, to receive training in community sociology and mental health.

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[1] Deutsch, "Early Social Environment," p. 18.

Pre-school education offered a good place for social change to begin, because least conflict would be encountered there with "existing barricades to change."

Benjamin Bloom, examining recent research, noted evidence that for disadvantaged children the IQ may be significantly depressed. Intervention at an early age could raise this score by as much as ten to fifteen points.[1] Joan Swift also reviewed studies confirming the role of pre-kindergarten in improving IQ's and developmental skills of children from "severely limited backgrounds." Special programs might aid the culturally deprived and other pre-schoolers with particular learning problems. Miss Swift did not conclude from the literature that nursery school experience is essential for all children.[2] In very recent years, however, educators have come to look upon "pre-kindergarten schooling as valuable, if not vital, for all children."[3]

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[1] Benjamin S. Bloom, Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), p. 12.

[2] Joan W. Swift, "Effects of Early Group Experience: The Nursery School and Day Nursery," in Review of Child Development Research, ed. by Martin L. and Lois W. Hoffman (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964), pp. 256, 259.

[3] M. A. Farber, "Now a Head Start for Everyone," New York Times, December 31, 1967, Sec. 4, p. E.9.

Effective follow-through by the school system to consolidate early learning gains was always deemed imperative. Martin Deutsch hoped to see early childhood centers running from three years of age to the end of third grade "built into the architectural plans of the school." A study conducted by Max Wolff and Annie Stein in New York City in the fall of 1965 documented the need for continuing good teaching beyond the pre-school level. Kindergarten children who had participated in summer Head Start were compared with classmates who had not. "Head Start children did better than their classmates in each of four tests when the teacher was good; but they did worse than their classmates when the teacher was poor . . . The child who starts to cross the bridge is much more disappointed at finding that it goes nowhere . . . than the child who never left his bank of the river."[1]

Some Questions

Head Start adopted the title "Child Development Program" emphasizing interacting social, emotional, physical and intellectual forces that influence maturation. In reviewing proposals, "OEO will look for evidence that the program is developmental in nature and designed to affect the child's motivation and attitudes, as well as his social, cognitive perspectives and language skills."[1] Alan Hartman questioned whether the child development emphasis has demonstrated significant impact on the academic preparedness or readiness of disadvantaged pre-school children. Contrasting classroom programs would be highly structured in whole or in part, academically oriented, "diagnostically or prescriptively based rather than interest or experience oriented."[2]

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[1] See Max Wolff, "Is the Bridge Completed?" Childhood Education, XLIV, No. 1 (September, 1967), p. 14.

Although little dispute exists that attack on cultural deprivation is well begun at the pre-kindergarten age, controversy rages about the nature of the curriculum best designed to achieve the compensatory purpose. Like Hartman, Professor Carl Bereiter took issue with Head Start's focus on child "welfare" rather than "education." While not opposed to social services in a pre-school program, he contended that "welfare services will not make an ignorant child knowledgeable or teach a dull child to think . . ."[1] The kind of teaching Bereiter and his colleague Sigfried Engelmann advocated was instituted in an experimental preschool at the University of Illinois. Direct instruction there centered on three content areas of language, reading, and arithmetic, was conducted in a highly task-oriented, "no-nonsense" manner.[2] Maya Pines reported favorably on an intensive Head Start program held this past summer in Canton, Ohio, based on the remedial classes devised by Professors Bereiter and Engelmann.[3] She had previously labeled their method the "pressure-cooker approach," expressed much confidence in its results.[4]

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[1] Head Start Manual, September 1967, p. 36.

[2] Allan S. Hartman, "How to Improve Pre-School Programs," Nation's Schools, LXXVII, No. 6 (June 1966), pp. 57-58.

Edward Zigler, of the National Head Start Steering Committee, deplores the "pressure cooker." He is not convinced that intellect is quite as plastic as many environmentalists believe. Early childhood research conducted at

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[1] Carl Bereiter, "Are Pre-School Programs Built the Wrong Way?" Nation's Schools (June 1966), p. 92.

[2] Carl Bereiter, et al., "An Academically Oriented Pre-School for Culturally Deprived Children," in Pre-School Education Today, p. 105.

[3] Maya Pines, "Slum Children Must Make up for Lost Time," in New York Times Magazine, October 15, 1967, p. 70.

[4] Maya Pines, Revolution in Learning (New York: Harper and Row, 1966, 1967), Chapter 4.

Yale suggests to him that pre-schoolers have a ten-point "storehouse" of IQ points. Scores could be raised ten points in two weeks simply by tendering the kind of attention and support that changes the child's motivation. Even if the pre-school experience does not affect the test score at all, it has succeeded, Zigler contends, if it changes the child's attitudes and self-image, imparts to him the belief that he need not fail.[1]

The entire concept of cultural deprivation as a frame of reference for explaining academic inadequacies has come under attack. Despite Riessman's deference to positive aspects of lower class values, Bernard Mackler and Morsley Giddings quarreled with his definition of cultural deprivation as a generalization unduly broad, too premature in the light of data from which derived, even "misleading" and "inconclusive."[2] The authors quoted historian Richard Hofstadter that anti-intellectualism is pervasive in America generally, not merely among Riessman's disadvantaged. They perceived that parental response to the educational system was dependent upon realistic expectations of schools as genuine instruments to fulfill aspirations for themselves and their children. Faith in learning as an avenue of advancement can come about only if followed by acceptance rather than discrimination in the economic and social spheres of life. Mackler and Giddings would work towards new modes of teaching to guide parents and community to self-betterment, help rid youngsters in poverty areas of attitudes geared to hopelessness. If necessary, they would eliminate the term "cultural deprivation" with its derogatory implications.

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[1] Edward Zigler, "Pre-School Education for the Deprived: The Current Controversy" (Lecture delivered at Syracuse University, November 8, 1967).

[2] Bernard Mackler and Morsley G. Giddings, "Cultural Deprivation, A Study in Mythology," in Education and Social Crisis, p. 390.

Carl Bereiter, through his work on early childhood "instructional planning," found he could dispense with the "deprivation" stereotype. If a given child, no matter what his test score, racial or "deprived" status does not come up to expected learning levels, devise reliable methods of teaching him what he needs to know. Establishing standards and developing the methods constitute Bereiter's major work.[1]

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[1] Carl Bereiter, "Instructional Planning in Early Compensatory Education," Phi Delta Kappan, XLVIII, No. 7 (March, 1967), p. 359.

Ernest H. Austin, Jr. favors a more fundamental attack. "Cultural deprivation," he believes, "is too often equated with cultural difference." Prevention of genuine deprivation "involves a wideness and wiseness of social planning and reform which will reach into the very guts of our institutional structure."[1] Education can not be separated from its social context. Basic change in the social environment beyond the school must be attained. The institutional causes of deprivation, rather than the "culture," demand prime focus.[2]

Thus, the discussion has come full circle. Children requiring a "Head Start" come from deprived environments. Deprived environments are most frequently the lot of persons brought up in poverty. Poverty is caused by factors rooted deep in our economic and social structure. Elimination of poverty requires remediation of educational deficiencies but also rebuilding of institutions, mandates "renewal" of communities in the truest social sense.

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[1] Ernest H. Austin, Jr., "Cultural Deprivation--A Few Questions," in Education and Social Crisis, pp. 399-403.

[2] Ernest H. Austin, Jr., "A Parting Shot from a Still Skeptical Skeptic," in Education and Social Crisis, p. 411.

CHAPTER III

UTICA--AN URBAN PROGRAM

Socio-Economic Profile of the Community

Both "urban" communities selected for this study are located astride the Mohawk River in the central New York Mohawk Valley area, Utica on the western and Amsterdam the eastern periphery. Historically, development of the Valley has proceeded from its position along the only low level route to the west leading from the northeastern United States. This corridor was formed between the Adirondack mountain range on the north and Appalachian plateau to the south. Many of the Mohawk Valley's first settlers were pioneers who chose not to travel further when attracted by its scenic beauty and agricultural potential. Railroads constructed in the 1830's shortly after completion of the Erie Canal (1825) multiplied the transportation arteries for which the district functioned as a hub. The New York State Thruway, of the most recent era, follows the main course of the old low level passageway.

Industrialization was speeded by the abundance of water available for power transmission to wool and cotton looms from the river resource. Textiles became a major Valley industry, reaching their peak in the early twentieth century. Immigrants, particularly from southern and eastern Europe, flocked to the area seeking job opportunities in the busy mills. But competition began to stir from other parts of the country in the 1920's, particularly in the textile, lumber, and transportation industries. New materials, new technology, new labor and product markets took their toll. Depression in the 1930's was followed by World War II in the 1940's, bringing temporary but artificial stimulus to the Valley's sagging manufacturers. Relentless closing of plant after plant during the next fifteen years marked the end of the region's textile dominance. In the Utica-Rome SMSA employment in textile production dropped from a peak of twenty thousand during World War I to ninety-seven hundred in 1947.[1] This outmigration meant the community was left with a large pool of unskilled and semi-skilled labor, its skilled textile workers too specialized for ready transfer to other industries. The Utica-Rome area was classified as having "substantial labor surplus" during most of the period from 1953 to 1961.

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[1] Herkimer-Oneida Counties Comprehensive Planning Program, Population (Utica: March, 1967), p. 11.

Agricultural activity by the Valley's dairy farmers and cattle raisers also slackened. The N.Y. State Department of Commerce estimates that twenty-three hundred farms in the region were abandoned over the last ten years, with farm land use falling by more than 100,000 acres.[1]

Another potential for economic growth in the Utica area began to appear during the 1950's in production of electrical and non-electrical machinery by such firms as General Electric, Bendix, and Kelsey-Hayes. This industry has proved highly volatile, however, and sharp employment swings continuing to the present have reflected an excessive dependence upon military procurement policies. On again, off again Defense Department pronouncements of "phase out" at the Griffiss Air Force Base in Rome also played havoc with the local economy. For the year 1965 a loss of forty three hundred jobs took place through phaseout and through secondary effects on local industries supplying services to the Base.[1]

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[1] N.Y. State Department of Commerce, "Overall Economic Development Program for the Mohawk Valley Economic Development District" 1967, p. 29 (Mimeographed).

Nearly one-fifth of total employment in the Utica-Rome area was estimated to be dependent on defense expenditures in 1961.[2] Some growth has since taken place in nonmanufacturing, especially professional service, education and public administration. Durable goods manufacturers oriented to the vicissitudes of government contracts, however, still present dangers. Nevertheless, annual average unemployment in the Utica-Rome area has decreased from 6.4 per cent in 1964 to 4.3 per cent in 1966.

Selected socio-economic statistics about the city of Utica are presented on the following partial "community information" Table 4. Data were compiled by the principal investigator from the 1960 Census of Population and Housing. Census tracts comprising each of the three "target" neighborhoods are those shown on Map 1 by UCA, Inc., the local community action agency. For socio-economic data specified by census tract, refer to Table 2.

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[1] Utica-Rome Overall Economic Development Committee, Utica-Rome Overall Economic Development Plan (January, 1966) p. 51.

[2] V.C. Crisafulli, "Economic Development Efforts in the Utica-Rome, New York Area," Community Economic Development Efforts: Five Case Studies (N.Y.: Committee for Economic Development, December, 1964) p. 153.

TABLE 4.--Selected Community Information Data, Utica and Poverty Neighborhoods, 1

Total population-1960,
Estimated population 1967
Total number of families
Total number of families with income less than $3,000
Per cent of all families with income less than $3,000
Families with income less than $1,000
Families with income from $1,000 to $1,999
Families with income from $2,000 to $2,999
Males fourteen and over in civilian labor force
Per cent of such males unemployed
Females fourteen and over in civilian labor force
Per cent of such females who are unemployed
Total number of persons twenty-five years old and over
Persons twenty-five years old and over with less than eight years of education
Per cent of persons twenty-five and over with less than eight years of education
All housing units
Per cent of housing units which are substandard
Number of Negro persons
County of Origin of the Foreign Stock
Total foreign stock
United Kingdom
Germany
Poland
Italy

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. *Census of Popula*
pF 164, *Utica-Rome*.

, 1960.

	Utica	Inner City	East Utica	Cornhill
	100,410	5,813	16,259	15,582
	97,670			
	25,506	1,106	4,345	4,042
	4,003	368	1,069	640
	15.7%	33.2%	24.6%	15.8%
	899	105	233	182
	1,358	154	400	153
	1,746	109	436	355
	25,878	1,424	4,159	4,122
	7.6%	10.2%	12.8%	8.7%
	14,930	752	2,483	2,795
	7.8%	9.6%	12.4%	7.4%
	62,236	3,662	9,734	9,602
n	15,542	1,296	3,895	1,617
ion	24.9%	35.4%	40.0%	16.8%
	33,411	2,630	5,649	5,872
	27.5%	50.8%	41.9%	27.9%
	3,092	2,038	604	101
	39,922	1,415	8,521	5,050
	3,355	192	146	577
	3,000	140	167	448
	7,163	447	779	333
	16,001	179	6,242	1,429

pulation and Housing, 1960, Vol. I, Census Tracts

Utica's 1960 population, off 1.1 per cent from 1950, fell another 2.7 per cent by 1967. As estimated by the N.Y. State Department of Health, its total was 97,670. Negroes made up 3.1 per cent of the city population in 1960. Two-thirds of them lived in the "Inner City" census tracts, site of the almost completely Negro Goldbas and Washington Courts housing projects. Persons of foreign stock, a category that covers foreign born and natives of foreign or mixed parentage, constituted 39.8 per cent of the total in 1960. More than twice as many Italians (40 per cent of the foreign stock) were recorded as Poles (17.1 per cent). The overwhelming preponderance of persons of Italian stock in the East Utica section can be noted on the community information table. Residents of Italian and Polish origin were also heavily represented in Cornhill.

Neighborhood change since 1960 has been inevitable. Urban renewal projects in the inner West and inner East Utica sections, both "secondary" Negro areas, demolished many homes. More of the uprooted moved eastward than westward--most went south to Cornhill.[1] Some uncertainty exists about the net effect of in and out migration to Cornhill, but the best estimate appears to be that the number of persons living there has decreased since 1960, with population now measuring between 16,500 and 18,500.[1] A neighborhood analysis conducted in 1965 found blighting in the area north of James Street that would spread southward in the absence of strict housing code enforcement.[2]

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[1] Ed Byrne and William Lucy, "Road to Integration," Utica Observer-Dispatch, June 25, 1965, pp. 12, 13.

Administrative Organization of the Program

Utica alone among the communities included in this study had been able to funnel its first request for Head Start funding in the summer of 1965 through a functioning community action agency. Submission of the Head Start proposal in April 1965 was one of the earliest acts of the Utica Community Action Commission (later to become UCA, Inc.), an infant body that had been created by city ordinance only four months before. The then Superintendent of Schools headed the group within the Commission assigned to prepare the Head Start proposal. During that first summer its administration was delegated by the UCAC to the Board of Education.

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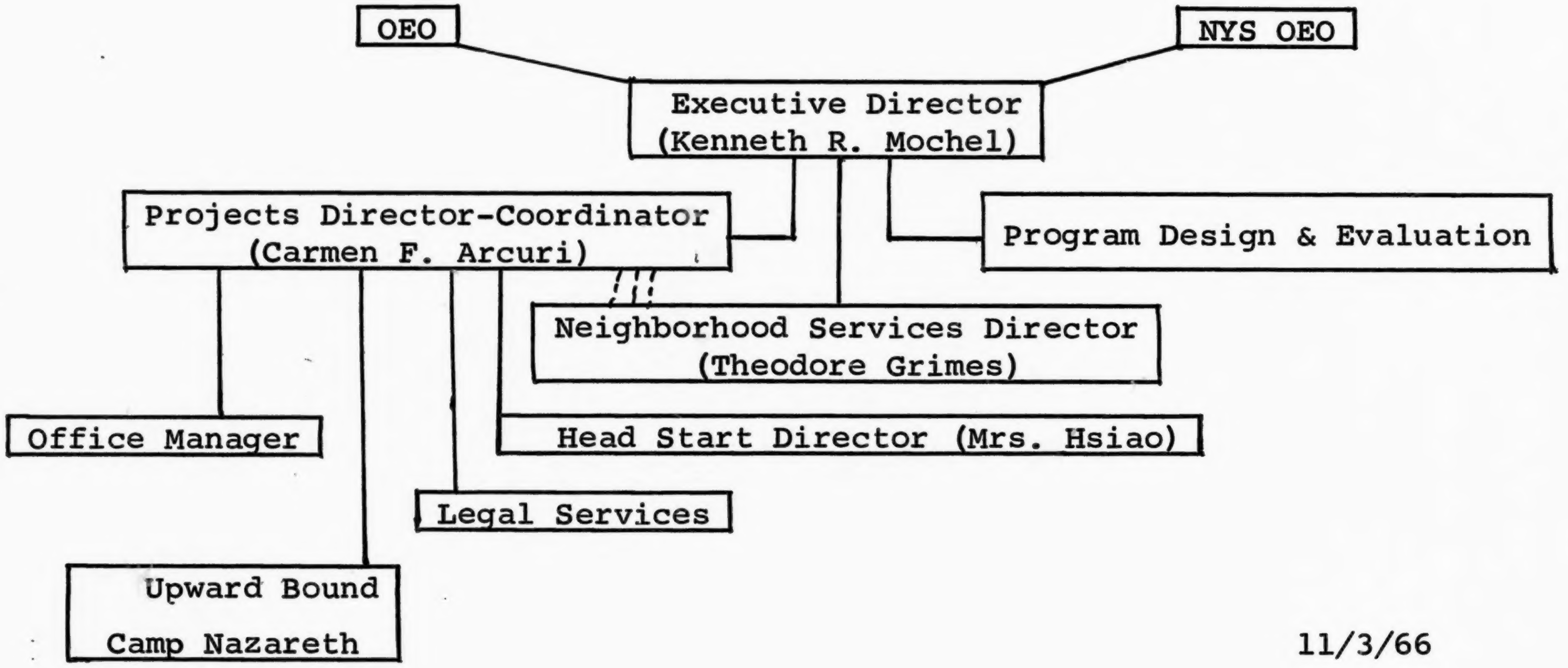
[1] Russell D. Bailey & Associates, The Cornhill Neighborhood Planning Study (Utica, N.Y.: 1967), p. 5.

[2] Candeub, Fleissig, Adley & Associates, Neighborhood Analyses, City of Utica, New York, (New York, N.Y.: 1965), p. 17.

A full year Head Start program more closely meshed with other community action projects was in effect from January to June 1966. The Board of Education was involved only to the extent that it gave permission for one of its schools (Brandegee) to be used as a Head Start center. Three other centers were established in churches, and two at social service agencies (Neighborhood Center and the West Utica Boys Club). A director was hired by the personnel committee of the Community Action Commission, and she, together with her assistant and the Pre-School Enrichment Committee, was assigned major responsibility for further hiring. The director reported, in turn, to the UCAC's Project's Director-Coordinator (see Chart 1). Head Start programs, for the most part, were conducted in the same poverty areas in which "opportunity centers" were located (see Map 1). In Utica "opportunity center" is the name applied to the basic neighborhood unit of the community action program. "Neighborhood councils" serve as Boards of Directors of the opportunity centers.

The Board of Education ran its own pre-school program

CHART 1.--Flow Chart Utica Community Action, Inc. Administrative Staff and Projects.


OEO
NYS OEO
Executive Director (Kenneth R. Mochel)
Projects Director-Coordinator (Carmen F. Arcuri)
Program Design & Evaluation
Neighborhood Services Director (Theodore Grimes)
Office Manager
Head Start Director (Mrs. Hsiao)
Legal Services
Upward Bound Camp Nazareth
11/3/66

Source: Utica Community Action, Inc.

LEGEND FOR MAP 1

PRIMARY

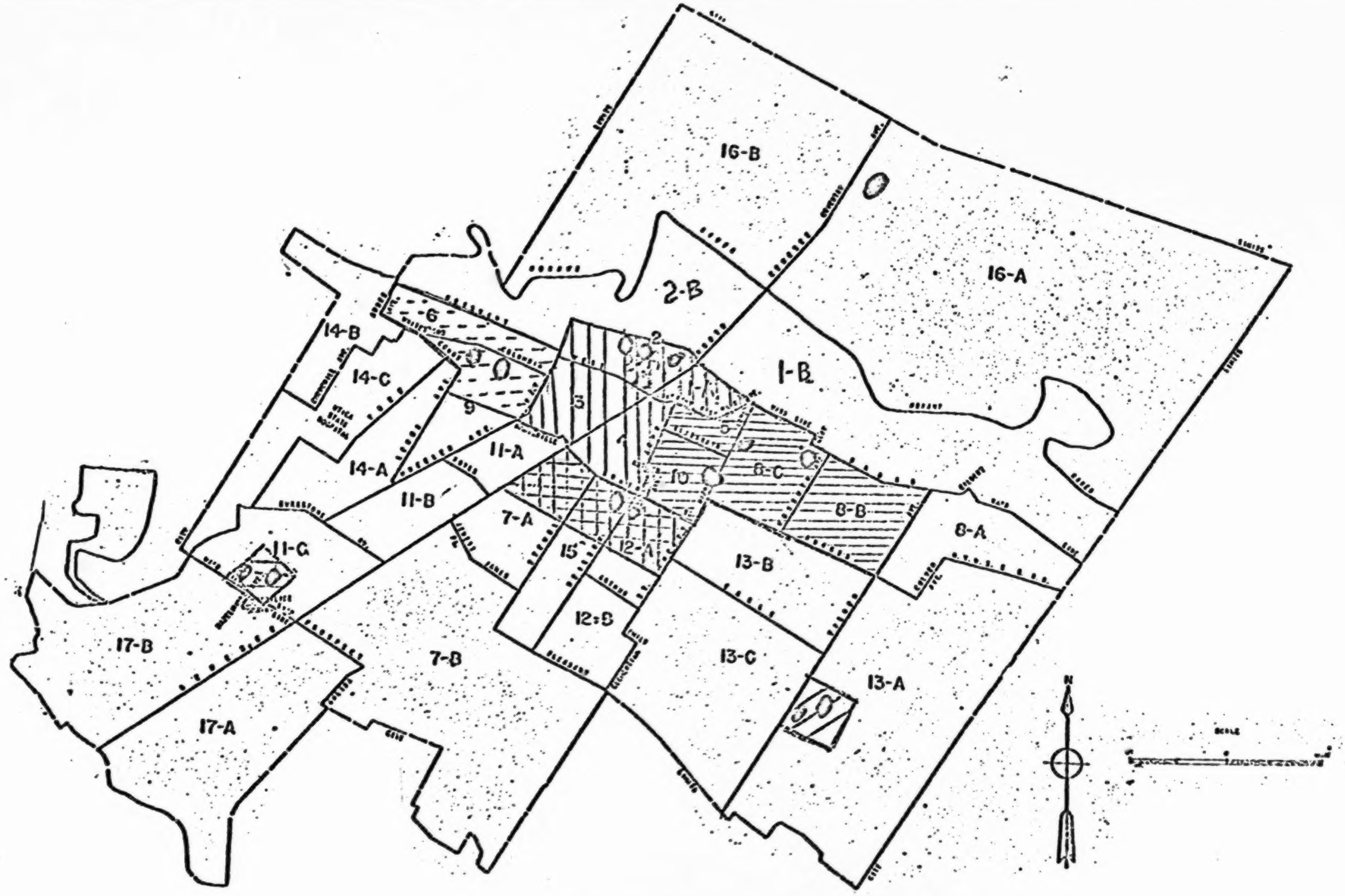
AREA A--Inner City, Census Tracts 2-A, 1-A, 3, 4	▥
AREA B--East Utica Census Tracts 5, 8B, 8C, 10	▤
AREA C--Cornhill Census Tracts 7A, 12A, 15	▦

SECONDARY

AREA D--West Utica Census Tracts 6,9	▤
AREA E--Gillmore Village Census Tract 11-C	▤
AREA F--Adrean Terr. Census Tract 13-A	▨

HEAD START CENTERS	OPPORTUNITY CENTERS	UTICA COMMUNITY ACTION COMMISSION
0	●	A-

MAP 1.--Poverty Areas by Census Tracts, Utica, New York.


16-B
16-A
2-B
1-B
14-B
6
14-C
2
9
3
1
5
14-A
11-A
11-B
10
6-C
8-B
8-A
7-A
15
12-A
13-B
11-C
12-B
17-B
7-B
13-C
13-A
17-A
N

during the summer of 1966, apart from the UCAC, financed by funds allocated under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. A new superintendent of schools, Dr. Lawrence F. Read, took office in August 1966. He had come from Bloomington, Indiana, where the school system ran Head Start. Dr. Read proved sympathetic toward the OEO pre-school project, however, and indicated his willingness to cooperate in the community action program. Representatives of what had become UCA, Inc., meeting with the new superintendent in 1966, stated that they perceived their role as one of catalyst. One of their basic duties under the anti-poverty program was to develop pilot projects that would innovate problem solving approaches not previously tried by existing community agencies. If dialogue with existing agencies evolved into a coordinated program, UCA would then plan for the project's eventual takeover by the agency charged with the basic task. Head Start, they reasoned, was one such experiment. Board of Education consent to sponsor it jointly with UCA was viewed as a preliminary step toward the school system's eventual custodianship of the entire program.[1] The target date for the move was tentatively established at September 1968, but the whole subject of takeover is now undergoing reevaluation.

Thus, the Board of Education became involved in a novel pre-kindergarten effort. It applied for and received under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act fifty thousand dollars to add one hundred children to the existing full year Head Start program being conducted by UCA. UCA's 150-pupil project, under the same director and following the same organizational outlines as the so-called "full-year" program of January to June 1966, had commenced in September 1966. The seven additional ESEA financed classed, recruited in January 1967, used the same format and were placed under the jurisdiction of the same director as the OEO-funded program. "A model of the kind of cooperation which can take place between school and community in the war on poverty" read the publicity statement released to the local press.

The two Head Start components retained certain distinctive elements. Under a contract originally proposed but disallowed by the Title I office, the Board of Education would simply have agreed to fund additional salaries and operating costs for the existing program. By law, however, schools were prevented from contracting with any agency or group to perform duties rightfully held to be school functions. Pre-kindergarten education was ruled to be of this nature. Because Title I grantees were required to maintain control over both money receipts and disbursements, two separate bookkeeping systems were established for employees treated as working for two separate organizations.

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[1] Memorandum from Francis E. Rodio to Edward J. Perry, October 13, 1966.

Dual jurisdiction was also clarified to mean that classes contracted for by the Board of Education "were to be operated in accordance with OEO standards and will meet the N.Y. State requirements for certification of teachers and other professional staff personnel."[1] Certification was not a specification for teachers in the OEO component. Exceptions were also made in the case of fringe benefits. OEO employees were entitled to participate in insurance plans sponsored by UCA, but contributions to the N.Y. State Teachers' Retirement fund were permitted only for teachers whose salaries were channeled through the Board of Education. ESEA funds were allotted to teachers and aides in the Board of Education component, and used to pay differing percentages of the salaries of the central staff. The Head Start Director requested in late May that the percentage of her remuneration from ESEA be raised from ten to fifty to enable her to participate in the teachers' retirement fund.

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[1] Applicant Agency Form, Utica Community Action Inc., Head Start Child Development Program, Sept. 1966, item 8.

Rules concerning pupil eligibility were less stringent for the ESEA than OEO sector. Title I money was distributed to schools located in poverty neighborhoods, but 90 per cent of the children participating in its programs need not come from families with incomes conforming to OEO defined standards. In matters of curriculum planning, parent participation, in-service training, the overall framework for both components was the same.

Head Start centers were set up in "target areas" or poverty pockets designated by UCA. (See Map 2.) The following listing groups the ten OEO and seven ESEA funded classes according to neighborhood or public housing projects:

LEGEND MAP 2

in 8C location of CAP Opportunity Neighborhood Center--East Utica

12A " " " " " " Cornhill

2A " " " " " " Inner City

13A " " " " " " Adrean Terr. & Matt Apts. (OEO-funded)

11C " " " " " " Gillmore Village (OEO-funded)

6 " " " " " " West Utica

16A location of Head Start Class--Humphrey Gardens (ESEA)

13A " " " " " Adrean Terr. & Matt Apts. (ESEA)

11C " " " " " Gillmore Village (ESEA)

2A " " " " " Potter School (ESEA), Cosmopolitan Center (ESEA)

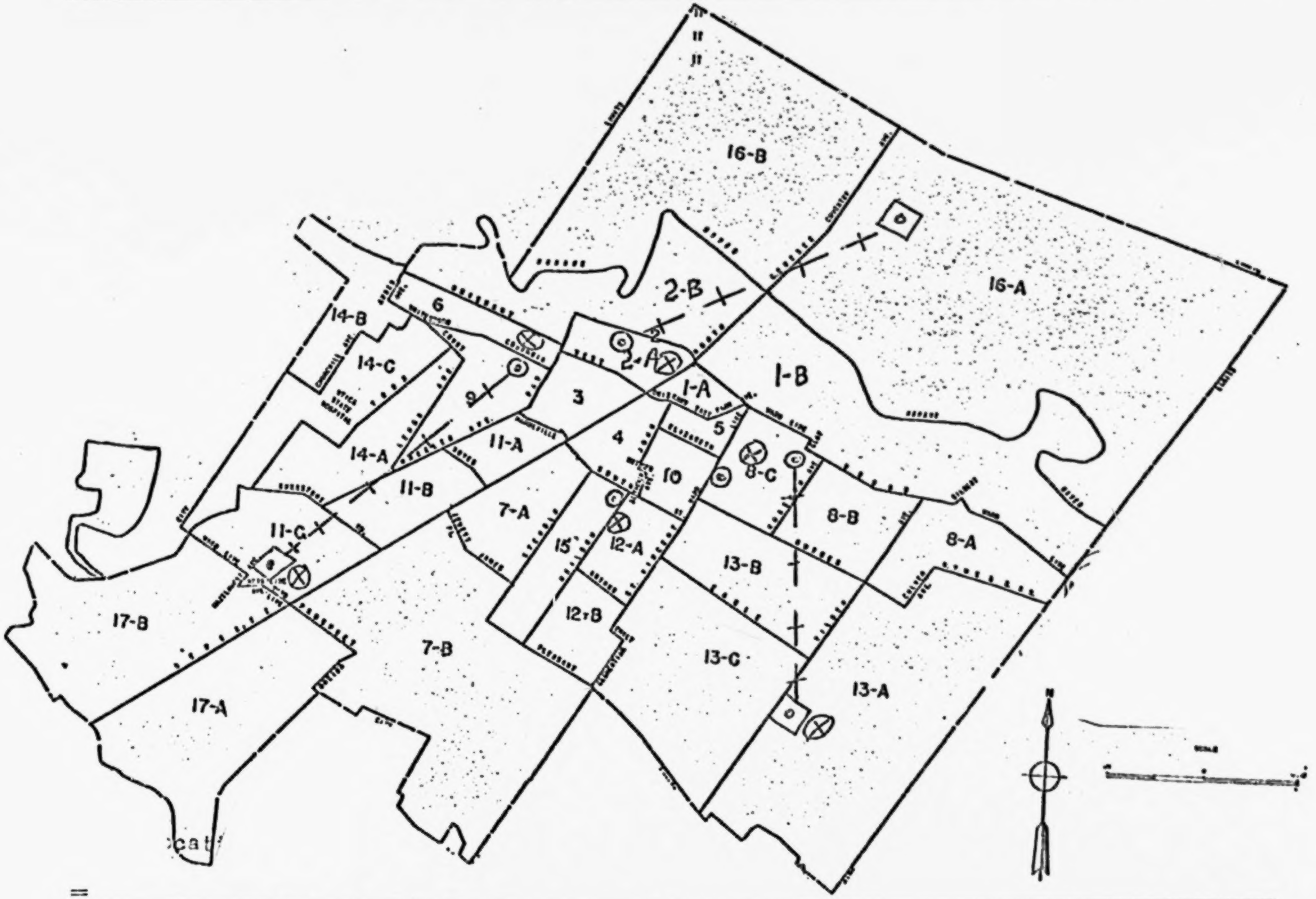
9 " " " " " St. Patrick's School (ESEA)

15 " " " " " Calvary Church (ESEA) (OEO-funded)

8C " " " " " (Westerly) Neighborhood Center (OEO-funded)

8C " " " " " (Easterly) Brandegee School (ESEA)

MAP 2.--Location of Head Start Centers by Census Tracts, Utica, New York.


16-B
16-A
2-B
2-A
1-B
1-A
6
14-B
14-C
3
9
5
4
10
8-C
14-A
11-A
11-B
8-B
8-A
7-A
11-C
15
12-A
13-B
12-B
17-B
7-B
13-C
13-A
17-A
N
cat

	OEO funded	ESEA funded
Inner City		Potter School (2) Cosmopolitan Center (1)
East Utica	Neighborhood Center (2)	Brandegee School (2)
Cornhill	Calvary Episcopal Church (2)	
West Utica		St. Patrick's School (1)
Public Housing Projects	Gillmore Village (2) Adrean Terrace-Matt Apartments (2) Humphrey Gardens (2)	

Classes met four days a week in double session, the morning groups from 8:45 A.M. to 11:45 A.M., the afternoon periods scheduled for 12:45 P.M. to 3:45 P.M. Where the number (2) is shown, one morning and one afternoon class met at each of those centers. At Cosmopolitan Center, a Chest agency serving residents of the inner city, a special morning program for three year olds that had been instituted the prior year by the Council of Jewish Women was taken over by the Board of Education on an experimental basis.

The three centers based in public housing projects were located in so-called "secondary" poverty areas. Seven children from the Cornhill neighborhood were bused to Humphrey Gardens. Most of the pre-schoolers at Humphrey Gardens, as it happened, were recruited outside the project. A survey conducted toward the close of the semester by Head Start staff indicated that many family incomes of children enrolled at Humphrey were too high. Classes there were discontinued in the fall.

A dietician and cook with services available for Head Start use were in residence only at the Potter School. Breakfast was therefore served to the morning group attending that center, lunch to those who came in the afternoon. Pre-schoolers at other centers were given mid-session "snacks" of crackers, cheese, raw vegetables, etc., but arrangements could not be made for full meals.

The four-day class session week and joint school-CAA sponsorship were the two unique features of the Utica Head Start program. Fridays were reserved for staff conferences and workshops, home visits, clerical duties, other administrative business.

Budget and enrollment data for the school district and Head Start programs during the 1966-1967 school year are presented on the following table:

TABLE 5.--Budget and Enrollment Data, School District and Head Start, Utica 1966-1967.

	School District	Head Start
Total enrollment	15,200	150 (OEO) 100 (ESEA)
Expenditures for current operations	$11,598,993	$166,584 (OEO) 50,000 $216,584
Time period	9 months	9 mos. (OEO) 5 mos. (ESEA)
Per pupil expenditure	$760	$866

School enrollment numbers for any given year vary according to source. Figures presented in this report for enrollment and expenditures for current operations are based on preliminary data sent to the principal investigator by the N.Y. State Department of Audit and Control. Statistics on the Head Start programs came from their component budgets.

Head Start per pupil expenditure is usually higher than that for the regular school system. Its budget reflects low pupil-teacher ratio, use of aides, administrative staff, allocations for field trips and supportive service.

Pupil Recruitment

Pupil recruitment, during Utica's first summer experience, was assigned to a subcommittee of what was then called the Pre-School Enrichment Committee. With establishment of a full year program in January 1966, individual teachers and aides were allotted primary responsibility for combing their neighborhoods in search of eligible children.

This policy continued to the full year program beginning the following fall. Teachers and aides canvassed with the assistance of lists compiled from recommendations of school principals, social work agencies, clergymen, and UCA opportunity centers. According to the Head Start Director's program summary, "Priority will be given to children whose parents are welfare recipients. Families with low incomes and those living in substandard housing, especially those with large families, broken homes or working mothers, will be encouraged to enroll their children."[1] Canvassers were directed not to be bound by their lists, but to cover districts completely. Racial integration was stated as a prime recruiting goal.[1] Names of children not meeting age requirements were to be kept on file for future reference.

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[1] "Head Start Pre-School Enrichment Program" (Mimeographed), p. 1.

When ESEA classes were added to the program in 1967, a four-day training session for teachers and aides was held at the Head Start office beginning January 3. Workshops were conducted in the morning. For two afternoons those who had prior experience with the project rang doorbells on streets adjacent to their centers. New personnel received further training before they, too, were sent to find children for the classes.

More orthodox means of publicity were also utilized. Flyers were sent home with children already attending school. Announcements appeared in school newsletters, the local press, and other media. Letters were dispatched to churches, social work agencies, school principals. Community organizations asked to cooperate in soliciting interest included the Extension Service, Home Bureau, Service Clubs, and the P.T.A's.

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[1] "Teachers' Handbook," Project Head Start (Mimeographed), p. 1.

A four-page brochure distributed to parents was entitled "Project Headstart."[1] Its cover consisted of a photograph of two little girls, one Negro and one white, standing with hands interlocked. Fifteen "questions you may want to ask" were listed on page three. Information extended to items such as cost (nothing), opening and closing dates, enrollment procedure ("you can sign up now or phone our Headstart office"), what the child should wear (playclothes), etc. Benefits to children and parents were summarized in the statement: "Both parent and family will achieve greater confidence in living and expressing themselves in the community."

In a memorandum presented in May, teachers requested that a greater time period be spent before the opening of class in a thorough canvass of neighborhoods to search for eligible children. Instead of a few days, they wished to devote "several weeks" to recruiting, program planning, teacher and aide training, a parent meeting that would explain plans and parental responsibilities in depth. Staff of the opportunity centers were then asked by the Head Start

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[1] "Project Headstart." (Brochure) Headstart Office, 520 Plant Street, Utica.

Committee chairman to undertake canvassing as part of their future summer activities. "We wish to find out," said the Chairman, "whether we are really reaching those who need the program most." It was felt that workers at the opportunity centers were uniquely equipped for this task.

Utica's poor display the settlement patterns of urban poverty families generally. They move frequently, either through choice or as a result of urban renewal. The John Bleecker urban renewal project in inner East Utica was the most recent program to uproot city residents, a large portion of them Negro. The dynamics of changing neighborhood population characteristics complicates the task of identifying the hard core poor and soliciting their cooperation in poverty programs. Establishing centers in specific sections where most needed is a constant problem. Areas exhibiting obvious poverty patterns may also be those most segregated. Washington Courts and the Lena I. Goldbas housing projects in Inner City, for example, are almost entirely Negro, whereas Negroes make up only small percentages of the other projects.[1]

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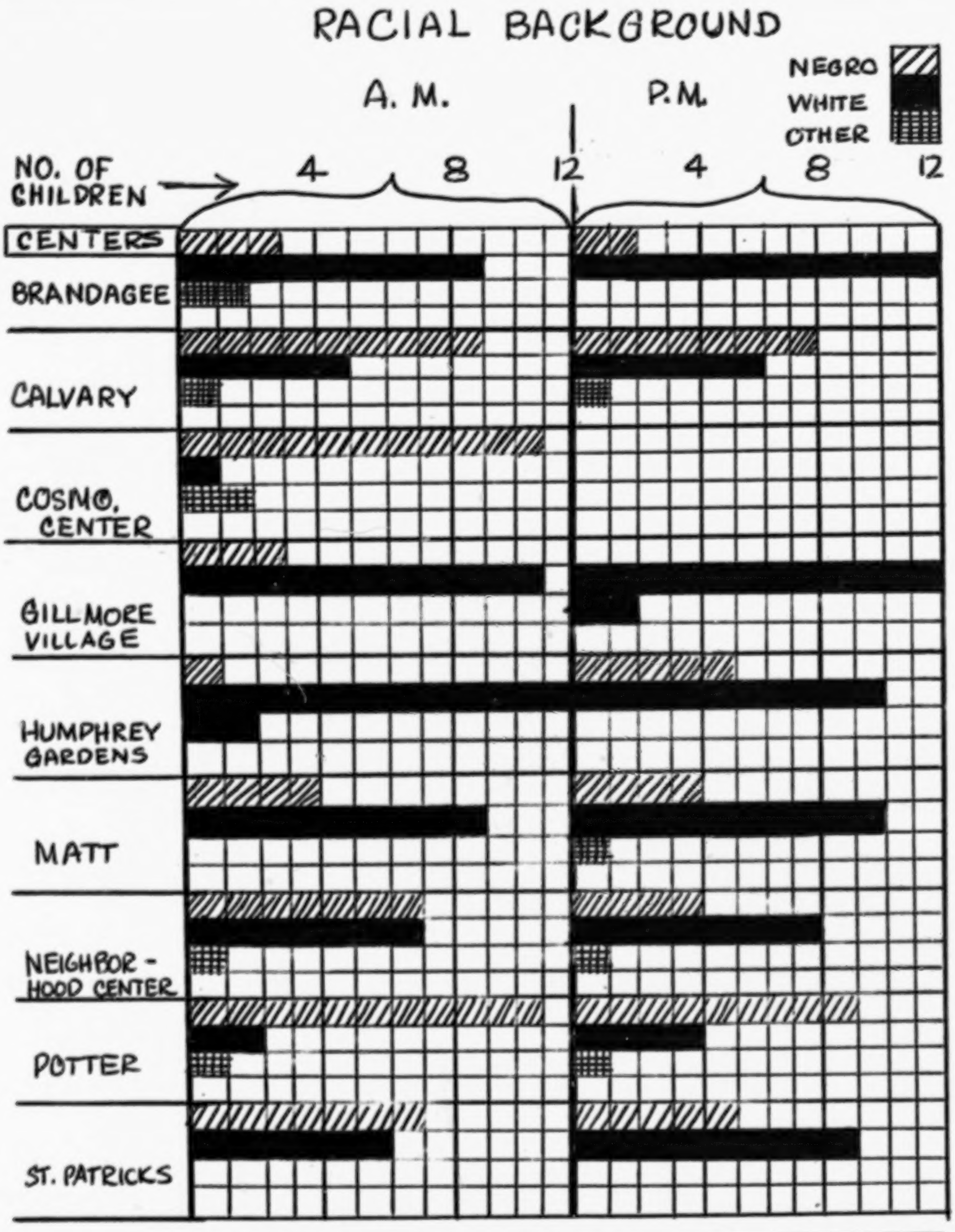
[1] Byrne and Lucy, Utica Observer-Dispatch, June 22, 1965, p. 13.

Trying to counter local housing segregation with racially balanced classes is a dilemma that was not resolved during the 1966-1967 year. A chart compiled by the Utica Head Start Office (Chart 2) shows that an overwhelming proportion of Negro pupils attended Potter School and Cosmopolitan Center, both in Inner City. Negro and "other" children made up more than fifty per cent of both classes at Cornhill's Calvary Church, and fifty per cent of the morning groups at East Utica's Neighborhood Center and West Utica's St. Patrick's School.

Statistics on income breakdown, also collected by the Utica Head Start staff, placed sixty-seven per cent of the families in the bracket under four thousand dollars (Chart 3). The thirteen families in the six thousand dollar plus category consisted of ten or more members.

The N.Y. State Education Department maintains a Title I Office for the administration of Elementary and Secondary Education Act funds. To determine the allocation of monies to localities under this Act, a criterion of "economic deprivation" is arrived at "by using Bureau of

CHART 2.--Racial Background of Pupils Enrolled in Utica Head Start Centers, 1966-1967.



Source: Utica Head Start Office.

CHART 3.--Income Breakdown of Families of Pupils Enrolled in Utica Head Start Centers.

Yearly Income	Number of Head Start Families	Per Cent of Head Start Families
$ 0 - $ 1499	5	2.1
1500 - 1999	7	2.8
2000 - 2499	28	11.4
2500 - 2999	34	14
3000 - 3499	31	12.8
3500 - 3999	58	24
4000 - 4499	26	10.8
4500 - 4999	29	12
5000 - 5499	9	3.7
5500 - 5999	2	1
6000 plus	13*	5.4
TOTAL	242	100%

*Ten or more in three of these families.

Source: Utica Head Start Office

CHART 4.--Utica Head Start Attendance Record as per Income Bracket (March, 1967).

Category	Cosmopolitan	St. Patrick's	Brandegee
Welfare	6	15	19
Below $1,500			1
$1,500 - $1,999			
$2,000 - $2,449	1		
$2,500 - $2,999	1	1	
$3,000 - $3,499	3	3	1
$3,500 - $3,999	3	1	4
$4,000 - $4,499		2	1
$4,500 - $4,999		3	4
$5,000 - $5,499	1	3	
$5,500 - $5,999			
$6,000 - plus	1	1	
Info. not available		4	
Social Security			
Veterans' Administration			
Comp. Insurance			
TOTALS	16	33	30
ATTENDANCE GRAND TOTAL: 252			

Source: Utica Head Start Office.

Neighborhood Center	Potter	Calvary	Matt Apts.	Gillmore	Humphrey Gardens
10	14	12	10	13	3
2	1	1			
2	2	4	3	1	1
2	3	3	2		
2	5	1	6	6	1
2	2	3	4	1	3
4		3		5	5
1		1			4
			1		
1	1		2		6
1	1	4	1	2	1
1	1				
	1				
					1
28	31	32	29	28	25

Census data of 1960 and data concerning aid to families with dependent children (AFDC) under Title IV of the Social Security Act."[1] Local educational agencies may use a variety of means for identifying the educationally disadvantaged children in their communities. "Quantitative" criteria include I Q and other standardized test scores, measures of school progress, health status and handicaps. "Qualitative" judgments are also permitted. Students' ability and family background may be reported upon by teachers or evaluated by a state quality measurement project (to be discussed in Chapter V of this report). The state and school district's identification of numbers of disadvantaged is in complete disagreement, because of the currency and kind of data on which based. In 1967, for example, Utica identified 2,959 disadvantaged children in the school district, but the state found only 1,282. The Head Start enrollment of 250 would be about eleven and five per cent of these figures respectively.[2]

A better idea of what proportion of children was reached by Head Start might be gained from analyzing the statistic of 2,164 births in Utica in 1962. If all those born in 1962 remained in the city until the age of four, or if outmigration in the age group was roughly matched by inmigration, less than 11 per cent of the four-year olds were enrolled in Head Start when the ESEA classes were added in Jaunary 1967. (Three-year olds at the one Cosmopolitan Center class must be deducted from the 250 sum.) This percentage is below the estimated 15.7 per cent of families with income less than three thousand dollars in 1960. Even if the reasonable expectation of a general rise in income since 1960 is correct, Chart 3, p. 74, reveals that 70 per cent of the families of children enrolled in Head Start earned more than three thousand dollars. There would appear to have been more poor four-year olds in Utica than were participating in the Head Start program.

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[1] The N.Y. State Education Department, Identification of the Educationally Disadvantaged (Office of Coordinator, Title I, ESEA of 1965, October 1965), p. iii.

[2] All statistics in this report on numbers of disadvantaged children furnished in letter to author from Fred A. Kershko, Associate Coordinator, Title I, ESEA, July 27, 1967.

Staff

Classroom Staff

All Head Start staff members whose annual salaries exceeded sixty-five hundred dollars were hired by a personnel committee of the community action agency. Because the UCAC was a public agency until April 1966, the city Civil Service

Commission established rules and regulations concerning its employment policy. Civil Service Commission members were particularly stringent in enforcing the injunction that Utica residents be given first preference for available positions. Opening of the first full year Head Start program in January 1966 was even threatened by delay because qualified persons from the city could not be found for several posts, including director.

The Civil Service Commission gave thirty-day temporary approval to those employees who did not meet residency requirements. Head Start administrators were actually forced to release one of their teachers in March 1966 when a qualified city resident came to compete for her position. Steps culminating in April 1966 with incorporation of Utica Community Action, Inc. as a non-profit private agency brought final release from local civil service mandates.

Mrs. William Hsiao, of the suburban community of Barneveld, whose fourth child was not yet one year old, applied for the job of part-time teacher in the first full-year Head Start program. She had spent her undergraduate years in China, completed all requirements except the thesis for her Masters degree in early childhood education, held permanent N.Y. State certification for nursery school, kindergarten, and special education of mentally retarded children. Her husband was a psychologist at Utica State Hospital. Mrs. Hsiao was asked by the personnel committee to accept the responsibilities of director, a job she has continued to hold.

Mrs. Gertrude Brown, assistant director, was also permanently certified in elementary education. She had acted as assistant director of the Utica Head Start program in the summer of 1965, and was granted leave from her job as fourth grade teacher at Potter School to take on the assistant directorships of both the first and second full year programs. After ESEA-funded classes were added in January 1967, Mrs. Brown was designated liaison person between the Board of Education and Head Start.

Seven teachers, four of whom worked half-time, were employed in the OEO program; two full-time and three half-time teachers were hired under the Board of Education component. Once released from the restrictions of residency regulations, advertising for available openings was widespread. The Head Start director and assistant director personally interviewed all applicants, using as guidelines not only qualification in the field of early childhood education but special interest in the problems of disadvantaged children.

To meet Board of Education specifications, the simple expedient was followed of placing those applicants with certification in the ESEA sector, reserving others for the remainder of the program. Teachers in the OEO component had attended college or were college graduates, but none was certified. One of the OEO teachers, with two-year college training, had been promoted from the post of teacher aide held the year before. All but one of the ESEA-funded teachers were certified in elementary or physical education.

Openings for teacher aides were announced in the local press, at the Opportunity Centers, circulated by "grapevine." A complete page of the Utica Head Start Teacher's Handbook was devoted to the role of the aide. She "helps the teacher as directed, participates in in-service training, and assists in home visits as directed by the teacher."[1] All applications for the positions were processed by the director and assistant director. Successful candidates were expected to meet poverty income standards, with preference given to those whose children were enrolled in the program. Among the seventeen half-time teacher aides hired, six were parents and two "past parents." Those in the OEO component reported their total family incomes to the Syracuse University Research and Evaluation Center as ranging between $4000-$5500. Four of the aides were Negro, as was the assistant director, Head Start nurse, social worker and aide.

The assistant director was charged with the duty of coordinating schedules of volunteers. She stated in April that twenty four volunteers had contributed 149 hours to Head Start. They were instructed to sign a time sheet to be counted as an in-kind contribution from the community. At Gillmore Village and the Brandegee school, about ten mothers served as volunteers, doing essentially the same work as aides. The parent coordinator attributed success in gaining this type of parental cooperation at these centers to the persuasiveness and organizing ability of particular Head Start teachers.

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[1] "Teacher's Handbook," p. 3.

Use of Youth Corps assistants, with one exception, was discontinued after June 1966, as a result of concern expressed by the teachers. They felt unable to allocate sufficient time for the special problems posed by Youth Corps workers, judged more trouble in many instances than the children.[1]

Teachers also requested a "more forceful program" for obtaining volunteers, even a "bureau" of persons with special skills, who might be called upon as the need arose. To this end, form slips were devised for volunteers. They were sent to community organizations or left with groups who were addressed by the assistant director. Some monetary donations were received, i.e., a ten-dollar check from the Overall Missionary Society of the New Hartford Baptist Church to be used for library books that the children might borrow. A file of resource persons was started.

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[1] Stanley P. Zager, "When Head-Starters Face Themselves: A Self-Search Evaluation" (Utica: June 1966), (Mimeographed), pp. 11, 12.

Auxiliary Services Staff

Besides the director and assistant director, other central Head Start staff included three part-time psychologists, a social work consultant and social worker, a social-work aide, nurse, secretary, bookkeeper and typist. A business manager to handle financial accounting was added in January, as well as a full-time nurse's aide and social work aide whose job title was "parent coordinator."

As described in the Utica proposal,

> The social worker functions in the capacity of consulting specialist on family problems . . . both the social worker and the aide will do casework with parents, coordinating Head Start's and the community's effort to strengthen the family . . .[1]

This mandate was translated to mean that the workers and aides stopped by at classrooms periodically, made home visits on the teachers' recommendations. They continued to visit as many times as believed necessary to secure proper action. Some 180 such visits were undertaken during the 1966-1967 school year. Referrals were directed chiefly to the Welfare Department and opportunity centers, with the Head

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[1] Applicant agency form, item 21 (Attachment).

Start social worker making the initial contact and any further follow-up as needed. Because employment and housing are two major concerns of the opportunity centers, they were asked to cooperate with families requiring such assistance.

Incomplete coordination between Utica's teachers and social workers led to some duplication and overlap in home visits. Similar questions were asked by both types of visitor; parents frequently became confused in differentiating their roles. Procedures later adopted called for social workers to solicit initial data from families that were essentially sociological in nature. Although social workers had visited homes on referrals from teachers, this sequence was reversed the following year.

Of the three psychologists, all serving part-time, Mr. Edwin DeVoy was trained in clinical psychology, Mrs. Rizika and Mr. Zager were both certified school psychologists. The Head Start Committee heard in April that psychological services had been rendered for fifty-six cases. Mr. Zager reported that services were modeled "on the usual triad of activities . . . 1) individual child study evaluations, 2) counseling activities for parents and children,

3) assist in policy and overall planning in situations involving psychological factors . . ."[1] No one technique was favored, and frequently a combination of procedures was adopted involving classroom observation, parent contacts or formal testing. Plans and recommendations were developed with the parent, teacher, and other "special services" personnel. Psychologists also assisted in in-service education and in evaluating the program and curriculum.

Mr. DeVoy volunteered the opinion that as teachers developed skills in spotting problems, more referrals were being made to the "special services" team, and therefore more structuring of its programing was necessary. Community agencies, Mr. DeVoy stated, were in so much demand, and facilities so limited that delay was encountered in obtaining emergency service deemed essential for families with severe emotional difficulties. To prevent a worsening of the problem, the child was observed closely by the teacher and/or psychologist while the family was awaiting service. Whenever the appropriate agency could arrange an appointment, complete cooperation was offered.

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[1] Utica Head Start, Minutes of Meetings of the Head Start Committee, meeting of April 19, 1967, (Typewritten) p. 2.

Mrs. Rethell Worsham, Head Start nurse, had been with the program since February 1966. Medicaid was not yet in effect at that time, and OEO funds were budgeted for the children's physical examinations. Dr. Arthur Kaplan, a Utica pediatrician and UCA chairman since 1965, came to the centers with a fellow pediatrician to examine 117 preschoolers. Their work was counted as part of the community's "in-kind" contribution toward financing. Notices had been dispatched and a preliminary parent meeting held, but the attendance of parents at the examinations proved disappointing. Case histories, of course, were unobtainable without their cooperation. Some feeling was expressed by parents and doctors as well that families should have the opportunity to choose their own physicians for examination purposes.

All families in the 1966-1967 program were eligible for Medicaid. Medical forms were sent home, to be returned to the centers by each parent when the required physical had been completed. Despite prodding by Mrs. Worsham and her aide, only half the forms had been returned by June. A "medical subcommittee" on which two parents were asked to serve, was set up to consider the problem. For children currently enrolled, word of the examination lack would simply be sent ahead to physicians at the schools where they were to enroll in kindergarten the following fall. In the future, additional aides and/or volunteers were to be enlisted in visiting at home parents who failed to turn in forms after a target date. Aides would "urge" and "assist" parents to make appointments with physicians of choice, make the phone calls themselves if necessary. Finally, if appointments were not kept, parents' permission would be sought to have the child taken to a doctor recommended by Head Start.

A trained audiologist provided hearing tests under a contract with the Hearing and Speech Center. Vision screening tests were an in-kind contribution of the Mohawk Valley Optometric society. Dr. Jack Goldstone, one of its members, demonstrated such interest in administering the tests and attending conferences and meetings on the health of disadvantaged children that he was asked to serve on the Head Start Committee. When ESEA funds became available in January, a Board of Education dental hygienist was sent to all centers to examine pupils' teeth and make recommendations on further treatment. Social and health workers tried to keep track of follow-up also compensable under Medicaid.

Pre-service and In-Service Training

Either during the summer of 1965 or 1966, all teachers and aides in the OEO component had attended the Head Start Orientation program held at Syracuse University. All teachers and aides, including those added under ESEA, took part in the four-day training session sponsored by Utica Head Start in early January 1967.

The director, assistant director, teachers and aides participated in conferences and workshops held at various upstate cities, i.e., Albany, Ithaca, and Rochester, during the school year. The parent coordinator attended a series of training sessions under the auspices of the Child Study Association. In Utica itself, a workshop on learning disabilities was conducted in February at one of the centers, Calvary Church. It was sponsored by Head Start and the Utica Junior League, in cooperation with the Utica Learning Center.

An open house forum on Head Start featuring local and outside speakers was held at the Hotel Utica in March.

The "Teachers' Handbook" was compiled in 1966 as a reference guide for teachers and staff. It contained samples of twenty new forms in use for purposes such as medical and dental examinations, pupil evaluation and follow-up records. Roles of the teacher, aide, social worker, and other personnel were delineated. Instructions were also included for procedures to be followed in most Head Start activities.

Under the four-day class session week, Fridays were reserved for home visits, "paper" work, "in service training" workshops and conferences. At least two scheduled home visits were to be made on Fridays or other days as necessary. Films, lectures, written materials, and discussions were featured at the meetings, held for teachers, aides, and other staff. Special case conferences, as stated, were arranged at the Head Start Office each Wednesday at 3:45. A calendar listing staff activity was drafted for each month.

In June 1966 Mr. Stanley Zager, Head Start staff psychologist, compiled a "Self-Search Evaluation"[1] from tape recordings of interviews between the teachers and either the social worker or psychologist. A uniform question schedule was used, with the aim of directing teachers' observations and opinions toward program and self-improvement, and toward assessing the total Head Start experience. The Wednesday afternoon case conference and parental newsletter were among suggestions emerging from that study. Teachers criticized, at that time, their inclusion with aides in the workshop audience. One teacher even questioned the value of workshops per se, stating the period could have been spent in home visits or other similarly productive activities.

Time was not found for compilation of another such evaluation in mid-1967. But at a free-wheeling special teachers' meeting held with supervisory staff and the chairman of the Head Start Committee in early June 1967, structured workshops were criticized even more intensively. Formal agenda were believed to leave little chance for discussion. Participation of aides in all meetings meant the group was too large for effective give and take. A disproportionate number of hours were said to be consumed in report writing and form filling; too few were allocated to contact with the director at the center level.

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[1] Zager, "Head-Starters."

The director readily admitted that since addition of the ESEA classes in January, she had been unable to visit the teachers at their centers "as much as I wished." The sheer magnitude of purchasing and other mechanical tasks had interfered with effective communication. Release from those duties would now be possible. Later, it was agreed to devote one Friday a month to strictly free-flowing teacher discussions, utilizing principles of group leadership. Informal contact would also be stimulated by more frequent center visits from the director.

Teachers emphasized that they would always like to have one "clerical day" and one home visit day a month, with nothing else scheduled for those periods. The director rejoined that she had received very few write-ups of home visits. Teachers, in turn, complained of being taxed by the write-up task. Forms in general, they said, were becoming too numerous and too repetitious. They wished to be more intimately involved, also, in decisions concerning them. Assurance was given that minutes of the Head Start Committee would be sent to teachers. Finally, teachers asked to be kept informed of future Committee meeting dates, so they could assist its parent representatives.

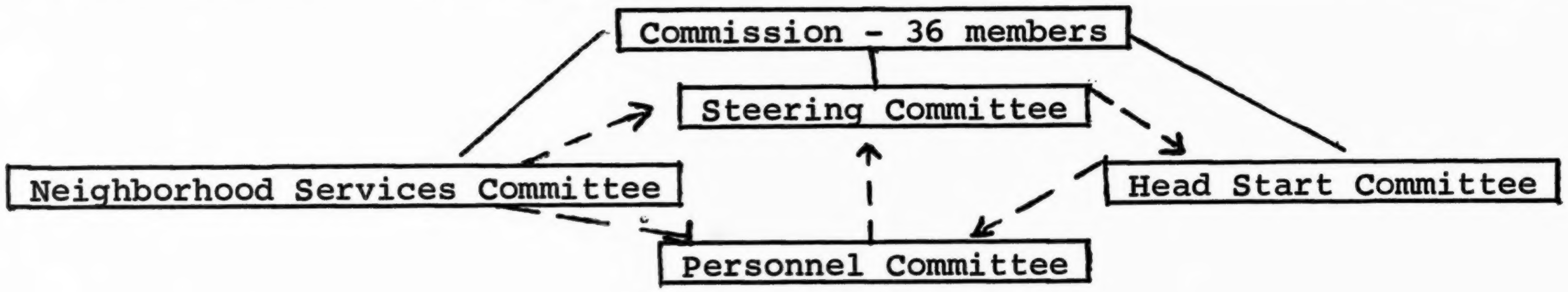
Parent Involvement

The Head Start Committee, formerly the Pre-school Enrichment Committee, is a sub-committee of the Utica Community Action agency. Its chairman has been appointed by the UCA chairman, and UCA by-laws grant the UCA head the privilege of choosing the other members as well. The so-called "members at large" from the community (now numbering fourteen) have actually been recommended in various ways, and approved routinely by UCA. They were appointed for staggered one, two, and three year terms. In February 1967, acting on an OEO directive that half the committee members must be parents, nine parent delegates were elected by each of the centers, while six centers also sent alternates. A flow sheet illustrating the position of the Head Start Committee relative to UCA, its other committees and councils is presented in Chart 5. Neighborhood councils cooperated with Head Start in several areas, including consultation on the budget when in preparatory stages.

Although technically a policy advisory body, the Head Start Committee has made decisions on many details of administration, i.e., budget and proposal preparation, that were accepted by UCA as a matter of course. Mr. Martin Abelove, a Utica businessman, was chairman of the Head Start Committee for two years. He was succeeded in late summer 1967 by Mr. Sal Mazza, another businessman, whose devotion to committee affairs had been demonstrated by almost continuous service. Two community at large members were former parents, two had been teacher aides. A "parent representative" on the committee, in the eyes of OEO, can fulfill that role only as long as his children attend Head Start. Asking former parents to work on the committee was a way of maintaining the participation of experienced and interested hands.

Other community members were a former public and a parochial school teacher, a minister, psychologist, social worker, and the optometrist referred to earlier. Dr. Gerald Natiella, a dentist and member of the Board of Education, was

CHART 5.--Flow Chart Utica Community Action, Inc. Commission, Committees, and Neighborhood Councils.


Commission - 36 members
Steering Committee
Neighborhood Services Committee
Head Start Committee
Personnel Committee

Other UCA, Inc. Committees - Employment, Legal Services, County Liaison, Neighborhood Youth Corps Liaison.

Neighborhood Councils elect representatives to Commission, Neighborhood Services Committee, Head Start Committee, and Legal Services Committee.

Council Presidents serve on Steering Committee.

Council Presidents or their designees serve on Personnel Committee.

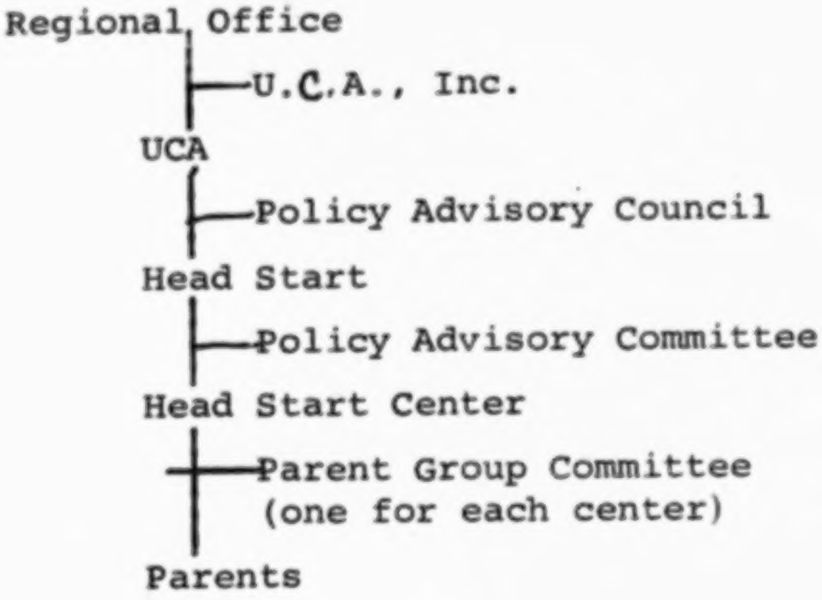
11/3/66

Utica Community Action, Inc.

to provide liaison with that body. Among the seven ex-officio members were all officials of Head Start and UCA, Inc., and Mr. Francis E. Rodio, in charge of federal-state relations for the Board of Education.

Mrs. Jean DeVoy, Head Start parent coordinator, was appointed chairman of a subcommittee to make by-laws for the Head Start Committee in June 1967. She sought to explore, among other points, whether the chairman of the Committee should be elected by the members themselves. Community representatives, in turn, would be appointed by either the chairman or the group as a whole. The OEO regional office analyst, in an advisory opinion, noted that Utica's arrangement was unusual. Its Head Start Policy Advisory Council (with 50 per cent parent membership) and Head Start subcommittee of the UCA Board of Directors, had been combined into one body. OEO's policies, the analyst stated, were flexible in two directions. They would support the Policy Advisory Council's desire to elect its own chairman and other officers. Equally, they would stand behind the UCA Board chairman wishing to appoint the heads of Board subcommittees in conformity with its by-laws. Dr. Arthur Kaplan, UCA Board chairman, had proved agreeable to selecting the Head Start Committee chairman from among persons suggested by its membership. If this procedure was not acceptable to the Committee, the analyst added, they were free to create a policy Advisory Council separate from the UCA Board's Head Start subcommittee. Mrs. DeVoy's subcommittee then proceeded to prepare a new set of by-laws in conformity with OEO guidelines.

Acting on her interpretation of an organizational chart for parent activities distributed by the Washington Head Start office,[1] Mrs. DeVoy drew the following diagram as representing the ideal set-up for Utica:


Regional Office
U.C.A., Inc.
UCA
Policy Advisory Council
Head Start
Policy Advisory Committee
Head Start Center
Parent Group Committee (one for each center)
Parents

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[1] Head Start, "Organization Funding Chart," Washington, D.C., July 1967 (Mimeographed).

Utica had, of course, combined its Policy Advisory Council and Committee into one body, but did not have parent group committees at each center. Also, poor attendance of parental representatives at Head Start committee meetings was the rule. Developing "grass roots" councils at each center, and sparking greater parental interest in central committee business were tasks for the future.

In March 1967 a council composed of one parent from each center, as well as four staff members, was organized to plan parent involvement programs for the remainder of the school year. Eight parents representing six centers attended the meeting, and suggested topics for discussion on child care, homemaking, budgeting, etc. The March program, consisting of a film and discussion led by one of the Head Start psychologists, was held twice during the month at two different locations. Some parents attending those meetings requested discussion of teen-age problems. As a result, subsequent programs were presented at Gillmore Village and Cosmopolitan Center on the subject of adolescent behavior. Consumer information and health were considered at other center get-togethers. Mr. Anthony LaPorte, a teacher at Brandegee School specializing in parent education programs, conducted one meeting specifically for parents of Head Start children who would be entering Brandegee in the fall. Home economics was the subject of three April meetings held at different centers. A Friday lunch for mothers, followed by a food demonstration, took place at Neighborhood Center and Gillmore Village, with baby-sitting provided by teacher aides. On the average, about one-fourth to one-third of the eligible mothers attended these events. Fathers made up approximately 25 per cent of those coming at night.

On the formal communications level, a mimeographed Parents Handbook was distributed, as well as a monthly flyer, Head Start Hi-Lites. The latter contained information about committee meetings, workshops, and center programs. Human interest items sent in by the various centers covered activities such as birthdays, special visits, field trips.

Field trips attracted many mothers. The number and kind of trip varied from class to class. A minimum of one visit a month was taken to a firehouse, police station, etc.

in the neighborhood or city, while more elaborate journeys were also made to places like Cooperstown and Rome. Three mothers were usually asked to assist at these functions, but more were welcome.

Individual teachers planned special events at their own centers. At Brandegee School coffee was served to mothers who brought their children to class. An open house was held at Gillmore Village and Calvary Church during a school day. A "special circle time" attracted children and parents to Matt Apartments on St. Patrick's Day. No mass activity such as a picnic was scheduled for the end of the year, but several teachers sponsored some kind of school closing celebration.

Washington Office Head Start chose Potter School as a sample center to which questionnaires were sent on adult education and parent-teacher activities for the month of April 1967. Forty-three parents of twenty-nine children were listed as covered in the sample. Two parents were reported to be employed at Potter as part-time aides. The one center-wide meeting held that month was noted, attendance tabulated at ten. One Head Start Committee meeting had been called for April, but the Potter delegate was not present. Three contacts were marked under "family and individual counseling and referrals," four under "social service . . . and referrals." At the class level six teacher-initiated consultations concerning five children had been arranged at home, two teacher and three parent-initiated conferences involving two children had taken place at school.

Most of the centers, the Potter teacher wrote, had at least one teacher-initiated parent meeting per month in addition to those set up by the parent coordinator. Participation and interest had been notably increased during the year through such meetings, she commented, but parents at Potter School had proved "much more difficult" to reach. Turnout had been poor at most meetings held at Potter. Reasons advanced for this situation were:

> "1) large percentage of working mothers
> 2) pressures of family life--too many family problems that interfere with participation in parent events

3) possibly a lack of Sophistication or awareness--possibly only a lack of interest in events or problems outside of their immediate world."

For successful parent events the teacher felt "quite a bit" of advance work in the form of telephone contacts, posters, etc. was called for. "Also, events should be held right in the area where these people live . . ." reference to the Goldbas and Washington Courts municipal housing projects. "If an interest in a certain subject is mentioned, this should be followed up right away; and parents should be made a part of the event. They could bring refreshments; for instance, or a father could run the movie projector. We realize that we need to involve these parents more fully, and are looking for ways to do this."

In part, the parent coordinator judged the personality, organizing ability, and agressiveness of the individual teacher to be significant in gaining parental response. Gillmore Village's white teacher had taught the prior year at mostly Negro Potter. She had managed to attract more family members to the classroom and to meetings than was to be the case the following year.

Socio-economic factors must be taken into account. The social worker serving the Potter neighborhood did not believe respondents had been candid in giving data about family status. At the time of the initial recruitment visit, a large number of mothers were acknowledged to be working. What was not so generally admitted was that many mothers were not present in the home at any time. Almost all pupils at Potter were brought to school by older children. Future surveys are contemplated to determine the proportion of children being raised by relatives or other "substitute" parents.

Follow-Through

All records of children enrolled in Head Start were sent ahead to the schools they would enter in the fall. The Nurse informed the school physician of any special health problems, or where parents neglected to get medical forms completed during the prior year. Head Start teachers were encouraged to apply for openings in the school system, to serve as "follow-through personnel" by utilizing their special skills with age groups kindergarten to second grade. One teacher did put in her application for the Columbus School in April.

For the 1966-1967 school year Utica was granted $600,000 under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for "Midtown Project Able," an enrichment program consisting of eleven special projects designed to aid educationally disadvantaged children enrolled in all grade levels of the school system. Corrective reading, psychological evaluation, speech therapy, guidance counseling, and school social work were special services funded under the program. All-day kindergartens were instituted at project schools. Head Start functioned at two of these, Potter and Brandegee. Other activities included parent education, in-service teacher training, and cultural enrichment through films, theater and dance group presentations, field trips, etc. After school and summer school instruction was covered, as well as development of a special curriculum to upgrade the educational level of the mentally handicapped.

At a special subcommittee meeting held in May, Head

Start psychologists discussed two problem areas involving children in the program. One centered around the four-year old currently enrolled with serious adjustment or management problems, exhibited either through aggression or withdrawal. The other type of child typically completed the program but demonstrated insufficient readiness for regular kindergarten class participation. Mr. Zager reported at the next regular committee meeting on proposals to deal with both types of problems. Essentially, they involved establishment of special classes with modified programs. Under Proposal A, one class would be set up as part of the Head Start program. The other (Proposal B) was to be developed in cooperation with the Board of Education for children at or below the seven year level unable to cope with the kindergarten situation.

Mrs. Bertha Campbell, OEO consultant, was invited to a special Head Start Committee meeting called in July to consider the two proposals. She was highly critical of Proposal A, contending it would be premature to place the child in a special group at this early age, that his problems could not be understood well enough until teachers had known him at least a year. Her major reservation was over the stigmatizing of children and parents by such placement. In addition, she questioned whether children might be singled out for insufficient cause. She suggested instead that a qualified teacher be sent from center to center to assist with problem children, or that the number of aides be increased for this purpose. Mrs. Campbell offered no direct criticism of Proposal B, but did point out that whereas a parent does not have to send his child to school until he is seven years old, the school must accept a child whose parent enrolls him at age five.[1] With the cutback of ESEA funds for the Utica Public School system the following year from $697,000 to $523,000, however, no such special class was contemplated immediately.

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[1] Minutes of Head Start Committee Special Meeting, July 24, 1967, (mimeographed), pp. 2, 3.

CHAPTER IV

AMSTERDAM--A SMALL URBAN PROGRAM

Socio-Economic Profile

Amsterdam and Utica are located just sixty miles apart via N.Y. State Thruway. Beginning as a small mill town on the Mohawk River, Amsterdam grew seven-fold in sixty years as a result of its thriving textile industries. Home of three of the largest carpet mills in the nation, it gained the title "carpet city," developed into the retail, wholesale, and service center for Montgomery and parts of Fulton County.[1]

In 1950 almost nine thousand persons were employed in "carpet city" at two major rug manufacturing plants, the Bigelow-Sanford Company and Mohawk Carpet Mills. Four years later the employment figure had slid to fifty seven hundred. Bigelow-Sanford then announced that it planned to move all operations to Connecticut. Mohasco Industries, formed by the merger of Mohawk Mills and the Alexander Smith Carpet

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[1] Russell D. Bailey, Candeub, Fleissig & Associates , *Summary Master Plan Amsterdam*, (New York: 1962), p. 4.

Company, struck further economic blows with their decision to transfer Axminster production to Mississippi. As a result, eleven hundred more jobs were lost to the community in 1957. Knit goods, a proud city manufacture at the turn of the century, had been in decline for some time. Chalmers Knitting Company capped the climax by selling its major trade mark and production license to an out-of-state operator, causing layoff for five hundred of the plant's six hundred workers. Cutbacks at General Electric and American Locomotive in nearby Schenectady affected Amsterdam residents commuting to work in that area.

Machinery manufacture and food processing provided some new jobs, but by 1958 Amsterdam's unemployment rate was 14 per cent. The official census figure for 1960 was 9.5 per cent. The Area Redevelopment Committee estimated local unemployment at 15 per cent in 1961, and added, "In general, current unemployment figures tend to understate the looseness of the labor market in Montgomery County, because of involuntary withdrawal of considerable numbers of unemployed from the labor market, particularly older persons exhausting all rights to benefits and unable to secure other jobs after a lifetime with the carpet industry."[1]

Montgomery County was designated by the U.S. Department of Commerce as the Amsterdam redevelopment area, eligible for federal assistance under the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 because of classification since 1958 as a region of "substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment." The county continued to qualify as a redevelopment area for purposes of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. Its average annual unemployment rate remained above 8 per cent through 1965, improving in 1966 to 5.5 per cent. Some of the fall in unemployment could be attributed to a "decline in the work force through outmigration, commutation to other areas, and other types of withdrawal from the local work force . . . "[2] Amsterdam's population, recorded at 28,772 in 1960, had fallen 13.5 per cent by 1967, when it was estimated to be 24,902.

Available statistics, most taken from the 1960 Census, would make up the following "community information" Table 6, for the city of Amsterdam:

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 13.

[2] N.Y. State Department of Commerce, "Overall Economic Development" p. 29.

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TABLE 6.--Selected Community Information Data, City of Amsterdam, 1960

	Numbers	Per cent
Total population, 1960	28,772	
(Estimated population, 1967)	24,902	
Total number of families	8,003	
Total number families with income less than $3000	1,443	18
Families with incomes less than $1000	315	
Families with income $1000-$1999	473	
Families with income $2000-$2999	655	
Males 14 & over in civilian labor force	7,661	9.2
Females 14 & over in civilian labor force	5,136	10.0
14 & 15 year olds enrolled in school		96.8
16 & 17 year olds enrolled in school		88.3
Total persons 25 years & over	18,899	
Persons 25 & over with less than 8 years of education	5,587	29.5
All housing units	10,393	
Number housing units substandard	1,808	17.4
Total foreign stock	14,053	
Poland	4,567	32.5
Italy	3,838	27.3
Lithuania	1,245	8.9
United Kingdom	1,124	8.8
Germany	1,060	7.5

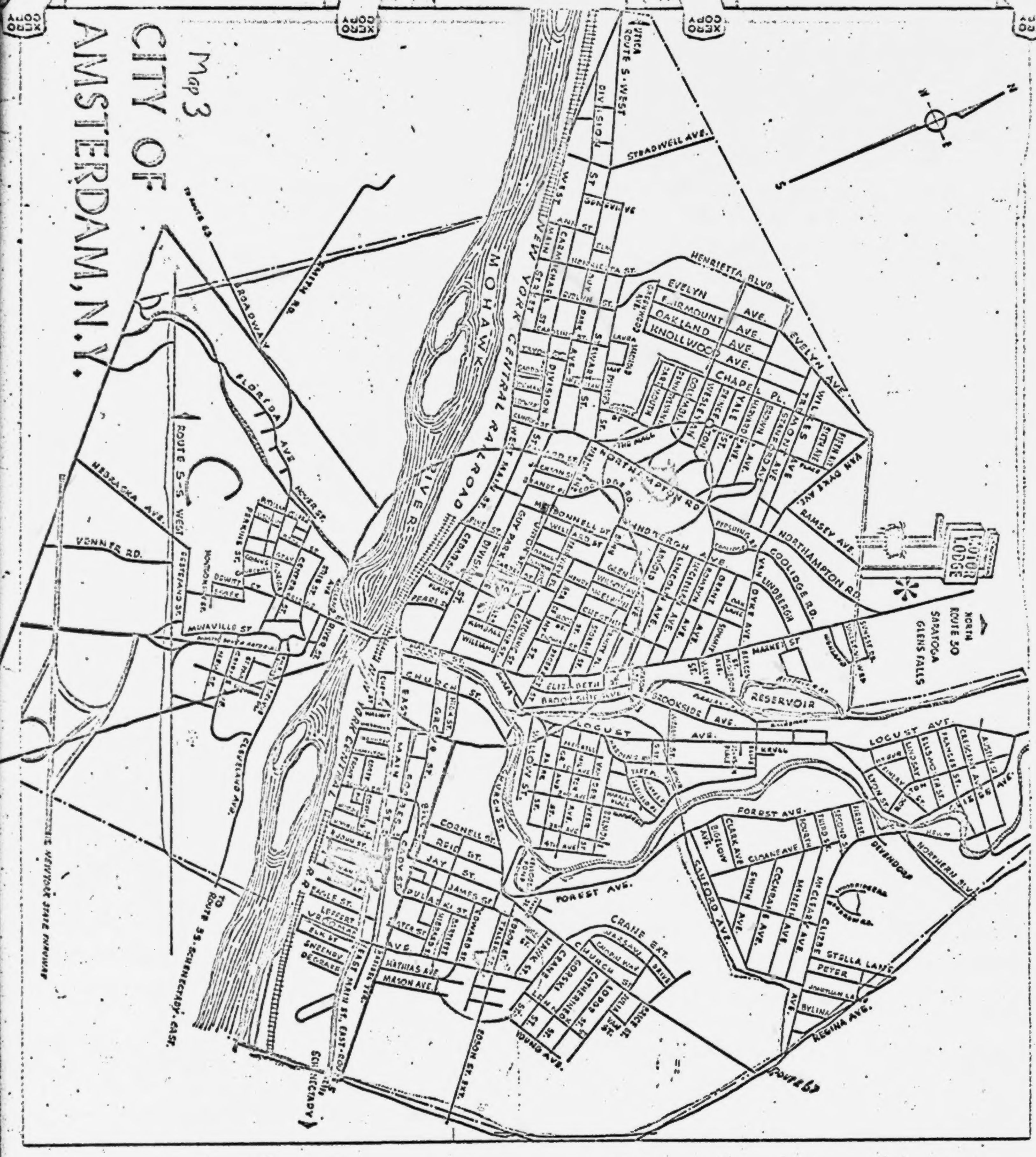
Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population 1960, Vol. I, Chapter 6, General Social and Economic Characteristics, pt. 34.

About forty-nine percent of Amsterdam's population in 1960 were of "foreign stock," primarily Polish and Italian. Only 176 non-white persons were counted in the city. Although the Negro population remains negligible, Spanish-American families, primarily of Puerto Rican origin, estimated to number about one hundred, have moved to the East Main Street section in recent years.

Neighborhood Analysis

Unlike Utica, Amsterdam is not part of a standard metropolitan statistical area where census tract breakdown facilitates data collection for small units. A neighborhood survey conducted by two planning consultant firms in the city in 1960 did provide some clues to conditions of blight in each section. Map 3 shows the location of each of the three schools in which Head Start programs were held: Academy, East Main, and McNulty.

The East Main Street School, in the East End Neighborhood adjacent to the central business district (B on Map 3), is the only one of the three situated in a district of real blight. Housing conditions in Amsterdam in 1960 were remarkably good in light of the fact that eighty per cent of the city's housing stock was thirty or more years old. The Community Information, Table 6, lists only 17.4 per cent of all housing as not in the Census Bureau category of "sound, all plumbing facilities." About half were rented and half owner occupied. In the East End Neighborhood, however, the planning consultants found housing units to be as follows:


Map 3
CITY OF AMSTERDAM, N.Y.
MOHAWK RIVER
NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD
N
S
C
COTTON LODGE
RESERVOIR
NORTH ROUTE 50 SARATOGA GLENS FALLS
UTICA ROUTE 5-WEST
ROUTE 5-S WEST
TO ROUTE 5S SCHENECTADY-EAST
SCHENECTADY
ROUTE 67
NEW YORK STATE THRUWAY

A. Academy
B. East Main
C. 5th Ward
D. McNulty
E. Vrooman

Dwelling Units	Number	Per Cent
Sound Condition	448	42.7
Minor Repairs Needed	194	18.7
Major Repairs Needed	406	38.8

Conditions of blight had been speeded by mixed residential-commercial uses, particularly unplanned strip commercial development along East Main Street. Residential quality suffered from close proximity to the railroad and central business district. Cars, trucks, and buses using Route 5 produced traffic and congestion problems.

Both the Academy and new McNulty Schools are located in Market Hill, containing the largest area, population, and dwelling units of any of the neighborhoods. Close to 89 per cent of the homes in Market Hill were found to be in good condition, however, only 1.2 per cent requiring major repair. No significant blighting influences were noted.

Six children from the fifth ward section, south of the Mohawk River, (C on Map 4) were taxied to the Head Start program at McNulty. Some 23.2 per cent of the homes in that neighborhood were listed as in need of minor and 6 per cent major repairs. Blighting influence was attributed to steep grades, obsolete industrial, commercial, and residential structures. Large tracts of undeveloped land were found in the fifth ward, particularly in the outlying areas.

Administrative Organization of the Program

Amsterdam's participation in the first nation-wide Head Start experiment was brought about through the initiative of its city school district officials. Board of Education sponsorship of the eight-week project during July and August 1965 coincided with inauguration of Amsterdam's first elementary and secondary summer school program.

Dr. Reigh W. Carpenter, appointed Superintendent of Schools in 1964, adopted a forthright approach toward soliciting federal financing, in marked contrast to attitudes that had formerly prevailed in the community. Hard hit by the loss of the carpet industry described earlier, however, local hostility toward "outside" aid and suspected interference had softened. A by now sympathetic Board of Education stood behind the new superintendent when he gave the go ahead to Dr. William B. Tecler, District Director of Pupil Personnel

Services, in the latter's search for new programs that would alleviate pupil problems encountered in the course of administering his office. This search was to result in injection of close to $1.7 million dollars in state and federal funds into the Amsterdam school system within the next two and a half years.

Experience that had begun in 1962 with the state sponsored "Project Talent Search," a summer counseling program for junior high school under-achievers, had reaffirmed for Dr. Tecler and associates some basic tenets of modern educational theory. Learning difficulties carried forward even to the secondary school level were traced to "mind sets" molded long before the child entered kindergarten. Many of the drop-outs or potential drop-outs came from low-income homes, and appeared afflicted with a feeling of worthlessness. Enrichment and work study projects adopted to aid these adolescents were all geared to the same philosophy that each person must be helped to believe in his own potential. In 1965 Dr. Tecler received the George E. Hutcherson Honorary award, presented to "the guidance person who best typifies qualities of idealism, leadership, and creative ability in developing and improving guidance practices in New York State schools."

Reporting on the Talent Search project conducted during the 1964-1965 school year, Dr. Tecler had written:

> . . .the most important goal in any project attempting to motivate children from a deprived background would be to help each child to form a more wholesome "self image" or "self concept" . . . Such a program could very well start in the elementary grades. In fact, pre-kindergarten programs for three and four year olds may be helpful to provide them with the basic pre-school experience important in preparing them for a satisfactory social and academic adjustment when they enter school. Success of the program would depend upon a clear understanding of the needs, values and problems of the culturally deprived . . .[1]

Head Start, the Drs. Tecler and Carpenter agreed, was one of the progressive approaches they wished to incorporate into the school system of a city not yet recovered from its recent economic turmoil. The Amsterdam City School District therefore became the applicant agency for the summer Head Start projects of 1965 and 1966, as well as the full year program running from February to June 1966.

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[1] William B. Tecler, "The Amsterdam Project: Value Problems in Counseling Selected Junior High School Students," Amsterdam, N.Y., 1965, p. 13 (Mimeographed).

By the time the school district decided to sponsor a full-year Head Start project for 1966-1967, a community action agency known as the Fulmont Development Facility had been incorporated to serve the old rival counties of Fulton and Montgomery. As the only city in Montgomery County, Amsterdam had developed an urban character unique from neighboring towns and villages. The Enlarged Amsterdam City School District prided itself on having gotten in on the ground floor, as it were, of Head Start, and for being the only school district in the two county area to sponsor a full-year program. School officials who had previously dealt directly with the OEO Regional Office were now made subject to the Fulmont intermediary. As an added irritant, Montgomery representatives claimed the new CAA was unfairly dominated by Fulton in a continuation of established competitive patterns.

Although the relationship between sponsors and CAA appears somewhat confused on the 1966-1967 proposal form, the school district had become more correctly the administering or delegate agency, the Fulmont Facility the grantee. In line with tightened supervisory requirements, a series of general and special conditions concerned with matters such as selection of teacher aides and parent advisors was relayed to Dr. Tecler through the Fulmont director, Mr. John J. Keane. Dr. Tecler was asked to furnish certificates that specified conditions were being met. The CAA also assumed control over the program's financial accounts. Mrs. Virginia Loomis, Head Start coordinator, became conversant with the CAA's manager of community resources and organization. Amsterdam was told, to its dismay, that its request for an enlarged program to serve 120 children would be cut back to seventy-five because a limited budget mandated that all projects be held to earlier levels.

The 1966-1967 school year was further clouded by continuing negotiations for a summer Head Start program. During the summer of 1966 the school districts of Amsterdam, Fonda-Fultonville, Canajoharie, and Fort Plain had sponsored projects enrolling a total of 146 children. With encouragement and technical assistance from the Fulmont Facility, three additional school districts applied for 1967 summer

Head Start projects, raising the two-county request for funding to 195 pupils. Washington ruled, however, that enrollments be held to the prior year's level. Dr. Carpenter, ever a vocal member of the CAA Board of Directors, made his objections known. Fulmont Facility joined with the school districts in protesting the cuts to congressmen and senators. Mr. Keane accompanied Dr. Tecler to the Regional Office to seek an increase in the federal limitation. Regional headquarters personnel were sympathetic, but explained that Head Start must operate within the limitation of Congressional appropriations. Amsterdam was forced to settle for a sixty-eight pupil program instead of its prior summer's ninety. This, despite the fact that fifteen additional districts had voted to join the Enlarged Amsterdam School District within the past year. Tempers flared.

Ruffled feelings were not soothed when a new set of special conditions was channeled through Fulmont to Head Start directors and teachers. Those in charge of Amsterdam's program, particularly, expressed resentment over OEO pressure to enlarge the role of parents in administrative decisions.

The director and school superintendent declared that choice of personnel was a professional matter for which non-educators were unqualified. Mrs. Loomis wrote out a list of "comments" taking issue with many OEO requirements. She objected to the necessity for recruiting 90 per cent of pupils solely on poverty income standards defined by the OEO. She expressed reservations about the amount of power to be assigned the policy advisory committee, choice of teacher aides, and working through the CAA agency. Specific comments will be dealt with in relevant sections of this analysis. It was Mrs. Loomis' general view that OEO should deliver "recommendations," not "directives" that prove too inflexible to meet the special conditions of particular communities. "The restrictions, mandates and organizational requirements of OEO," she wrote, "should differ with the size of the community, the type of community and the leadership of the community."[1] Local authority was being jeopardized, Amsterdam administrators believed, by too many OEO rules that were presented as ultimatums.

Amsterdam school officials felt threatened, also, by the possibility that future Head Start funds might be channeled into the financing of privately sponsored Day Care centers outside its control. The Fulmont agency launched a survey in April 1967 of the need for such facilities in Fulton and Montgomery counties. By May plans were underway for a Day Care center at Fonda-Fultonville. The director of Amsterdam's Neighborhood Center, a component project of the CAA, established in February 1967, began to send questionnaires to local industries in an attempt to assess potential community support for Day Care.

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[1] Memorandum from Virginia K. Loomis to Dr. Reigh W. Carpenter, June 23, 1967.

The forty-hour training program for summer 1967 Head Start teachers and aides, announced in the spring, was interpreted by Amsterdam administrators as another insulting reminder of two-county rivalry. Fulton-Montgomery Community College, awarded the contract for the program, gave its subcontract to the principal of a Fulton county school that had never sponsored Head Start. Amsterdam personnel, the only participants in the program with long Head Start experience, were not approached for assistance in organizing or conducting the itinerary. They declared the prior programs held at Syracuse University were far superior.

Early Start

During the 1966-1967 school year, Amsterdam was one of twenty-four school districts to conduct a parallel state funded experimental pre-kindergarten program, referred to as "Early Start." It is the only one of the four communities included in this study to have sponsored the program. Amsterdam received sixty-nine thousand dollars from the state for sixty pupils. The N.Y. State Education Department administers the project, aimed directly at school districts serving children in "disadvantaged areas." Only full-year programs are eligible for financing.

Early Start is similar to Head Start in the broad outline of aims and operations, but Amsterdam officials feel less constricted in administering the state program. Income eligibility is not the only criterion for its pupil recruitment. Children may come from a "low socio-economic area," a "remote rural area," or live under "conditions harmful or limiting to normal development." The requirement of certification in early childhood or elementary education for teachers and directors is one with which the school district is sympathetic. "Possibilities" rather than mandates for parent involvement are included in the guidelines. Less tie-up is involved in gaining approval for the state as opposed to the federally funded project. Because the Legislature ended its session in March, the 1967 proposal, presented in May, was already accepted by June.

Amsterdam placed its 1966-1967 Early Start classes in two elementary schools different from the three that were host to Head Start. Children from the outlying town of Florida, newly annexed to the Enlarged Amsterdam School District, were bused to the city's McCleary School. Two other classes met at Vrooman School. In the fall of 1966, the then Head Start director was also made responsible for administering Early Start. When she left the city in November, an individual administrator was named for each program.

A comparison of Budget and enrollment data for the school district, Head Start, and Early Start programs during the 1966-1967 year follows on Table 7.

TABLE 7.--Budget and Enrollment Data, School District, Head Start, Early Start, Amsterdam, 1966-1967.

	Amsterdam School District	Head Start	Early Start
Total enrollment	4,800	75	60
Expenditures for current operations	$4,679,715	$72,423	$69,000
Time period	9 months	9 months	9 months
Per pupil expenditure	$966	$965	$ 1,150

Per pupil expenditure for Head Start and the school district generally, were close. This per pupil figure is the highest of the school districts in this study. Expenses for Early Start, where busing from outlying areas was included, were greatest of all on a per pupil basis.

Pupil Recruitment

Of the nine elementary schools in the Enlarged Amsterdam City School district in 1966, officials estimated that three were in neighborhoods located near families of most intense need. Five full-year Head Start classes were therefore scheduled: a morning and afternoon class at both the Academy and East Main Street schools, and an afternoon session only at McNulty. Six children were taxied from the overcrowded Fifth Ward to the modern McNulty school. Hot lunches were served in the school cafeterias to pupils in all sessions. With the exception of those coming from the Fifth Ward, most pupils were placed in schools they would be attending the following year as kindergartners.

Recruitment for these classes was primarily the responsibility of the Head Start social worker, Mr. Philip

Tolstad, whose experience with the Amsterdam program dated back to the summer of 1965. Word about families who might meet eligibility requirements was passed to him. The kind of school census taken in rural areas is not conducted in communities over twenty-five hundred, but a list of births in the city is sent to the attendance officer monthly. The officer's work with truants brings him in contact with the community. Elementary school principals and guidance counselors also gained knowledge of children and families. Older siblings enrolled in class provided clues about sisters and brothers. At pre-registration for kindergarten, held in May and August, note was made of parents accompanied by younger children. Information on new residents and persons in need was channeled informally to school principals by organizations such as the Lions Club and by local churches. Some leads were furnished by the Welfare Department on a confidential basis. The adult education English language program held at the East Main Street school attracted about forty students during the 1966-1967 year, and was considered a good bridge to the one hundred or so Spanish speaking families estimated to have moved into that area. Twelve of the thirty children at the East Main Street School were of Spanish-American origin (most Puerto Rican), as were two at Academy and one at McNulty.

Mr. Tolstad and his teacher wife are both Spanish speaking. He went into the community ringing doorbells during the summer for the fall Head Start and Early Start enrollments. Family heads were asked to sign a ditto sheet affidavit devised by the social worker. Instead of stating actual income, the signer was required to testify merely that he earned less than the sum required to render his family eligible for the project.

Head Start had been publicized in Amsterdam newspapers and other local media. Stories and pictures of field trips and classroom scenes appeared in the press periodically. As the program was repeated, word of mouth publicity carried its reputation into the community. Phone calls were received at the director's office, eligibility standards explained, a and names taken if indicated. Those whose incomes might be too high for Head Start were referred to Early Start if otherwise qualified. The OEO Neighborhood Center is expected to be of assistance in future recruitment. Two of its summer employees were directed to conduct a canvass of families in the city's core area for purposes of future anti-poverty programs.

In her "Comments" Mrs. Loomis expressed the opinion that the income table established by OEO is "totally unrealistic." She pointed out that eligibility for Head Start cannot be based on deprivation that is physical, mental, or emotional in origin. "Single parent homes where the income is above the table" are excluded, as are "homes where there is a language barrier."[1] The 10 per cent figure to cover such cases would take in only seven of Amsterdam's seventy-five Head Start children.

The N.Y. State Education Department's Title I administrator identified 591 children in Amsterdam as "disadvantaged" on the basis of criteria established for fund distribution under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The school district itself counted almost twice as many, or 1,064.

An idea of the percentage of children in the eligible age group reached by Head Start may be gained by dividing its enrollment figure of seventy-five by 406, the number of births in the city in 1962. Children born at that date would be of pre-school age by 1966. The resulting percentage of 18.5 is almost identical with the proportion of families reported to have been earning less than three thousand dollars in Amsterdam in 1960. Early Start's additional sixty pupils included children from outside the city.

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[1] Memorandum from Virginia K. Loomis to Dr. Reigh W. Carpenter, "Comments Concerning Head Start," June 23, 1967, p. 1.

Staff

All teachers in the Amsterdam Head Start program were hired as part of the school system. They received fringe benefits, were given experience credit toward salary increases, tenure, etc., and were invited to briefings and meetings as any other faculty members. One of the teachers in the 1966-1967 program was certified in nursery, kindergarten, and primary education, one was certified and another working on certification in elementary education, and the fourth had earned her MA in guidance before the year ended.

Certification was listed in the Amsterdam proposal as a standard for teacher selection. Also required were "persons sympathetic to the objectives of the Economic Opportunity Act and the administrative policies which have been established for the war on poverty."[1] Although treated like other teachers in the system, the Head Start director pointed out that ordinary kindergarten teachers were not expected to make home visits or to involve parents in regular activities. Job security was also affected by the uncertainties of the annual Head Start budget, that faced *far greater* hazards in renegotiation than did other school district appropriations.

As with any other staff position, vacancies were publicized in college and university placement offices, school and professional publications, the local press, even the Sunday Times. Mr. Daniel Greco, coordinator of teaching and non-teaching personnel, received and processed all applications for available jobs. A professional committee, varying in composition according to the specific opening, interviewed applicants for staff positions. The Superintendent of Schools made the final recommendation to the Board of

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[1] Amsterdam City School District, Head Start Program 1966-1967 School Year Project Proposal, p. 10.

Education, as they were responsible for actual hiring.

Mrs. Diane Cronin, who began the 1966-1967 year as coordinator for both the Head Start and Early Start programs, had been a full-time primary grade teacher for four years and had taught in the 1965 Amsterdam summer Head Start project. She held permanent certification in elementary education, had been appointed teacher-coordinator of the full year program in early 1966. Dr. Tecler, Dr. Carpenter, and Mr. Greco made up her interview committee. Mrs. Cronin, in turn, sat in on further teacher interviews.

Although plans are being made to bring in the Parent Advisory Committee on future hiring, they were not given this responsibility in the case of Mrs. Cronin or her successor, Mrs. Virginia Loomis. Mrs. Loomis was certified in elementary education, had five years experience with preschoolers before her appointment as Head Start coordinator. Her husband was principal of the Fifth Ward School, and she herself had taught in the district. Mrs. Loomis had expressed interest in the program to Mrs. Cronin, and applied for her position when the latter left the city upon her husband's transfer in November.

Two full-time and one half-time teacher aide, all of whom had worked in the prior Head Start program, were employed in the 1966-1967 project. One was a parent of a child formerly enrolled in Head Start, the other two were residents of the poverty areas but not parents. It had not been possible to employ all teacher aides from parents of enrolled children, Dr. Tecler explained in a certificate requested by the OEO, ". . .most parents gave lack of time or other children at home as primary reasons." School administrators' perception of aides as persons who should possess the qualities of semi-professionals clashed with OEO demands for participation of the poor, and was one of the conditions with which Amsterdam reluctantly complied. Aides hired for other school system programs during the prior summer had chiefly been students interested in teaching as a career. They had attended a special training program in the school district, funded by the United States Department of Labor. Only one of the Head Start aides had received pre-service training, at a six-day orientation program sponsored by Syracuse University.

Statements of income recorded by the Syracuse University Head Start Research and Evaluation Center reveal that one of the aides' total family income fell in the twenty-five hundred to three thousand dollar category. One other teacher aide, as well as the cafeteria and kitchen aide, were in families with total income between four thousand and five thousand dollars.

Mr. Tolstad, who did recruitment and made home visits, performed other social service functions as well. He aided teachers and staff, worked with families, and served as their intermediary with the Welfare Department and other social agencies. The OEO Regional Office field representative who visited the program in early summer 1967, felt that he conceived his job too narrowly. She believed he could do more in promoting self-help and aiding with immediate problems like housing and relocation. She also wrote in an advisory opinion that he ought to plan activities in the field of parent education, a function no one in the Amsterdam program had undertaken.

Two of the teachers, as well as the teacher aide referred to above, had attended the summer orientation program at Syracuse University. An orientation meeting at the beginning of the session for all personnel was arranged by the then coordinator, Mrs. Cronin. Staff meetings were held monthly at 3:30 at each Head Start school in turn. Mondays at 2:15 were reserved for individual conferences at the schools. Aides were usually not included in the conferences. Agenda items covered program planning, evaluation of procedures, services needed to supplement field trips.

Teachers were observed at least six times a year. Their supervisor sent observation write-ups and teacher evaluation forms to Mr. Greco, coordinator of teaching and non-teaching personnel. The coordinators of both Head Start and Early Start reported to Dr. Tecler, Director of Pupil Personnel Services and Research. All subordinate personnel were directly responsible to their respective coordinators.

Among consultant and contract services, the school district contributed as its "in-kind" share medical examinations and histories for each child, conducted by the school doctor. Budgeting was also arranged for oral examinations, treatment, and fluoride application by the school dental hygienist. Immunization and lab tests at local facilities were included, as well as speech therapy by a specialist working on a per diem basis.

The psychologist was hired in February as a part-time employee. He administered the draw-a-man test to the children, took referrals from teachers, made home visits where requested, assisted to some extent with teacher aide training.

Volunteer services were sporadic. Parents, many with other children at home, appeared infrequently to assist in the classroom. No arrangements were made to provide training opportunities for them. The only children requiring transportation were the six sent from the fifth ward across the river to the McNulty School. One of the fathers had undertaken to drive them in his car during the first six weeks. Ladies of the Junior Century Club financed a taxi for four months thereafter, until the OEO was induced to allocate additional funds for that purpose. An invitation to the Shriners' Circus, and Jaycee involvement of one class in its "windmill" construction project, constituted most of the other community volunteer effort.

Parent Involvement

At an all-parent meeting held when the school year began, two parents from each of the five classes were asked to participate on the Head Start advisory committee. Selections were made from volunteers and names of nominees presented on the floor. Determination of what community groups should be represented on the committee had been made by Dr. Tecler, Dr. Carpenter, Mrs. Cronin and Mr. Riccio after a survey of local organizations. Among persons finally chosen for the Head Start Committee were a businessman, a clergyman, the director of the Chamber of Commerce, the city editor of the Amsterdam Evening Recorder, a commissioner and social worker from the County Welfare Department, and the PTA president of the Academy Street School.

This advisory committee was essentially a public relations group, meeting in the afternoon at irregular intervals. No formal agenda was presented, no minutes kept. Reports were made on such topics as results of medical and dental tests and children's achievements. Special requests were received from the director on occasion, as when she asked committee members to assist in transporting pupils on field trips. The committee did not write the proposal or sit in on staff interviews. Personnel recruitment and administration tended to be regarded by those in charge as professional matters beyond the competence of lay persons. Head Start administrators reluctantly agreed to meet OEO demands that the advisory committee be accorded a more significant role in future policy decisions. Greater family involvement was listed in the Head Start 1966-1967 annual report as a "special area of development" for the following school year.

Parent education and training programs, it has been mentioned, were not scheduled among Head Start activities. Mothers and fathers were expected to participate in the regular PTA's of the schools at which their children were enrolled. Head Start mothers at the East Main Street school, many of Puerto Rican origin, were reported as very active in the PTA. About nine came to meetings regularly, won attendance awards three times during the year, and served as hostesses at one of the meetings. One of the Head Start teachers at East Main explained that "casual parent involvement" was part of her program. She had met frequently, but informally, with mothers on many subjects of mutual interest. In one four-week period, four mothers at her school had eaten lunch with their children, two remained to help the teacher aide afterwards. Two or three older brothers and sisters would also come to class to help at the end of the school day. East Main and Academy were both schools where intensified effort to involve parents of primary grade children was made through Project Able, described in the next section.

Because money for field trip transportation was excluded from the Head Start budget, these visits were necessarily restricted to neighborhood areas; i.e., libraries, police and fire stations, local sights of interest. Two or three mothers usually assisted in the walks. Parents were asked to transport their children for required lab tests and follow-up medical and dental work. Individual parent-teacher conferences were held, but almost always on the teacher's initiative. A conference guide furnished for teacher use included questions on the health habits and social relationships of the "child at home" and the "child in school."

Families were seen at home by Mr. Tolstad, the social worker. Each teacher, once the child was enrolled in her class, was expected to visit the family at home. Toward the end of the school year, a so-called parent involvement team consisting of Mrs. Loomis, Mr. Tolstad, and a teacher-aide was formed. The three planned to knock on doors together both for present needs and future recruitment purposes. "Community aides" to act as liason persons between schools and homes were requested for the 1967-1968 year.

Follow-Through

Each child in the Enlarged Amsterdam School District who entered kindergarten after Head Start had placed in his school folder medical and dental records, psychological test scores, and an evaluative "accounting sheet" on which his pre-school teacher noted observations of classroom behavior and home visits. Entries on these forms, usually general statements concerning school adjustment and progress, were made three times during the year. Head Start adopted the same record cards and folders used by the schools in order to develop continuity in record keeping and evaluation. Because of its confidential nature, the social worker's report was treated separately.

Children believed to require "additional readiness and cultural experiences" have been placed in enrichment classes maintained at the two major Head Start schools, Academy and East Main, as part of the state-sponsored "Project Able." Thirty-six children at the kindergarten level identified as in need of a compensatory curriculum (whether or not they had participated in Head Start) were selected in 1966 for small classes emphasizing muscular activity, problem solving, vocabulary building, handwork of many types. They ate a hot lunch served at school. Psychological and health consultation, speech therapy, specialized library activity, and elementary guidance counseling were other services offered under the Project. Additional support was enumerated in the proposal for "teacher aides, clerks, field trips, in-service training, medical and dental examinations, instructional materials."

Project Able was to continue through the sixth grade. Its third year of experimentation in Amsterdam began with the 1967 fall term. One additional Grade One teacher was assigned to East Main Street and another to the Academy Street School to offer instruction to those children who had been in the enriched kindergarten classes during the prior year. At this level remedial reading was added to the other services, and continued through the primary grades. Reading teacher, speech teacher, librarian, and counselor were all expected to work with parents in contributing to the child's development. Evaluative procedures employed at various stages of the project included teacher evaluations, objective tests of reading readiness and language skills, anecdotal records, parent interviews.

Project "Carrying On" was instituted in 1967 to evaluate the two pre-kindergarten programs and Project Able. An "experimental sample" was selected for study consisting of 128 children who had participated in Head Start and Early Start, and had entered kindergarten in September 1967. Among evaluation techniques used were the Lee-Clark Reading Readiness Test, the N.Y. State Evaluation Tests, parent interviews, and individual case studies. As of this writing, results of the Project were not yet known.

CHAPTER V

NEWFIELD: A MINIMUM RURAL PROGRAM

Socio-Economic Profile of the Community

Tompkins County lies at the foot of Cayuga Lake, one of the outstretched "fingers" of a handful of lakes carved into the region during the Ice Age. Tributary streams, gorges, waterfalls, steepgraded hills and fertile valleys mark the spectacular topography that is the glacial heritage. Three State parks, all within a ten-mile radius of Ithaca, preserve part of the magnificent terrain glorifying the area. Tompkins is, ironically one of the New York State tier counties forming the northern border of "Appalachia," described in the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 as lagging "behind the rest of the Nation in its economic growth . . . its people have not shared properly in the nation's prosperity . . ."

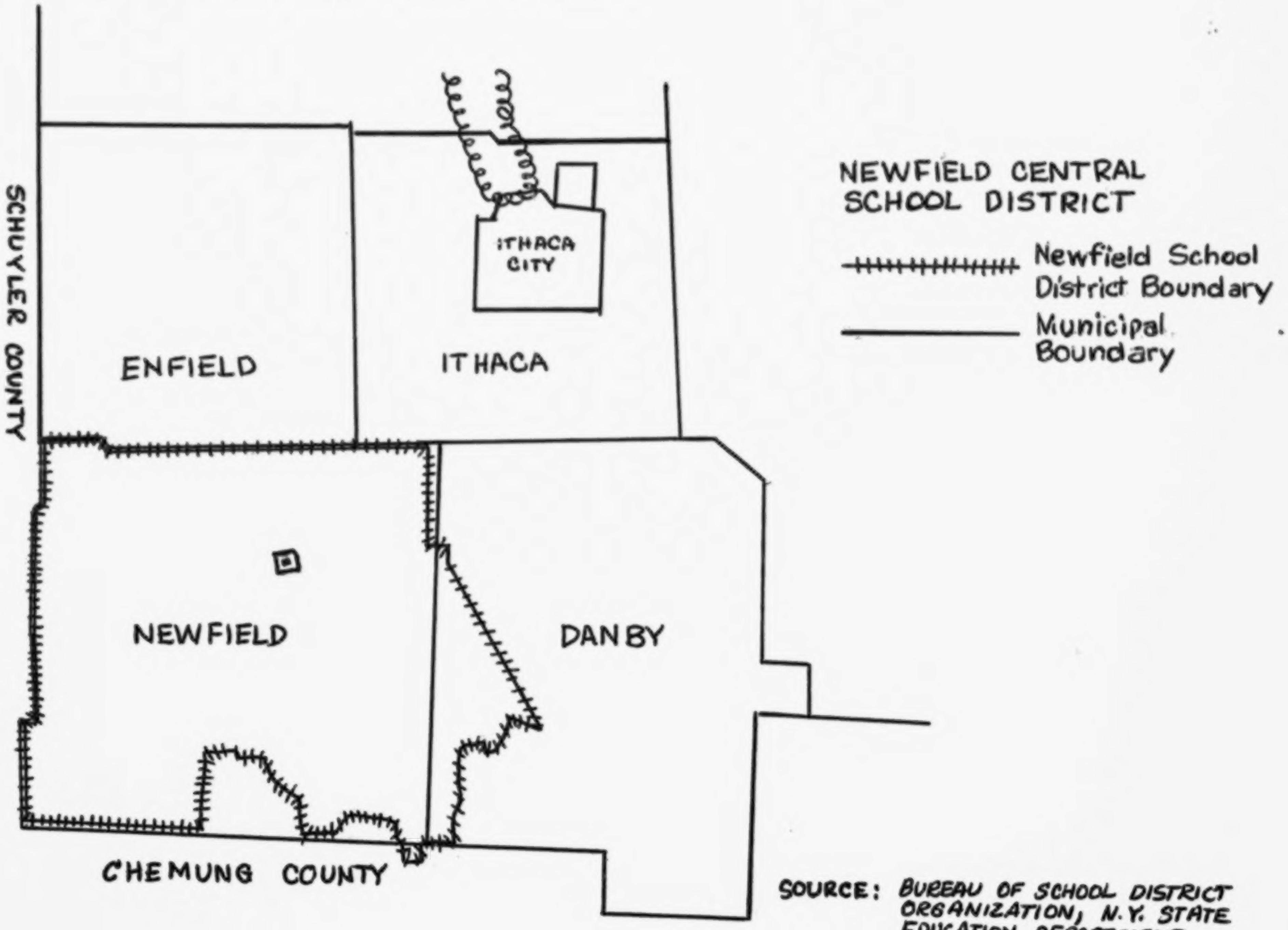
Yet Tompkins possesses one major growth industry-education-inducing an economic climate that belies the above characterization. Students at Cornell University and Ithaca College, estimated at one-sixth the total county population in 1960, have since grown in proportion to about one-fifth.

During the 1965-66 school year the University furnished jobs for five thousand full time and fifteen hundred part-time employees, a figure greater than the combined total for Tompkins' six other major enterprises. The county's unemployment rate has decreased steadily from the official 1960 census tabulation of 3.5 per cent to an annual average of 2.7 per cent for 1966. It was Senator Robert Kennedy who proposed Tompkins' inclusion in the Southern Tier for purposes of the Appalachia bill. In February 1965 the county Board of Supervisors voted eleven to five against participation in the Appalachian development program.

The town of Newfield, however, occupying sixty square miles just ten miles southwest of Ithaca, trailed behind in the generally cheerful statistics. Some 6.2 per cent of the town's labor force could not find work in 1960, for example, a rate almost eighty per cent higher than that for the county. The decennial census also listed twenty-two per cent of Newfield's 522 families as earning less than three thousand dollars, and the town ranked last in Tompkins County in percentage of housing containing "sound and all plumbing facilities" (49.8 per cent).

About half of Tompkins County is covered by the Ithaca

MAP 4.--Newfield Central School District.


SCHUYLER COUNTY
ENFIELD
ITHACA
ITHACA CITY
NEWFIELD
DANBY
CHEMUNG COUNTY
NEWFIELD CENTRAL SCHOOL DISTRICT
Newfield School District Boundary
Municipal Boundary

SOURCE: BUREAU OF SCHOOL DISTRICT ORGANIZATION, N.Y. STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT school district. The remainder is allocated among a special and five central school districts, of which Newfield is one. Although Newfield school district lines jut into five neighboring towns, skimming the boundaries of two other counties, Map 4 illustrates that Newfield's geographic dominance in so-called School District Number 1 is overwhelming. Of the four other towns, only the westernmost slice of its neighbor Danby is at all significant. West Danby, too, has failed to share in the suburban boom extending from the city of Ithaca.

One reason for the lag might be sought in the nature of the soil in this southern end of the county. Most of it was rated by the Tompkins County Resource Development Committee as having "severe" limitations for "agricultural and foundation stability."[1] Thus, while farming, particularly dairy and poultry farming, is still an important industry in Tompkins, it is being discontinued in the hills of the southern region. Although thirteen per cent of Newfield's population was classified as "farm" in 1960, its acres of land devoted to farming had declined by thirty-one per cent over the decade. New housing areas, springing up to accomodate those participating in industrial growth, developed more "on the better drained soils in the northern part of the county and near the city of Ithaca and villages."[1]

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[1] Tompkins County Resource Development Committee, Natural Resources Sub-Committee, "A Review of the Natural Resources of Tompkins County," Ithaca, December, 1966, p. 6 (Mimeographed)

A look at the characteristics of Newfield's labor force in 1960 shows that among industry groups, the largest single category was manufacturing, in which twenty-three per cent were employed (21.1 per cent of the twenty-three per cent in durable goods manufacture.) Retail trade was next with 11.4 per cent. Among occupation groups, twenty-three per cent of employed persons were operatives. The next largest occupational classification was clerical workers, 14.4 per cent. Manufacturing firms in the county included Morse Chain Co., National Cash Register, Ithaca Gun Co., Therm Inc., and Smith Corona.

Newfield retains its status as a second-class town. In New York, towns and counties are both subdivisions of the state, their governments mandated by the constitution and laws passed by the legislature. According to state law, all towns whose populations exceed ten thousand must, with certain exceptions, become first-class. All towns of more than five thousand or with an assessed valuation greater than $10,000,000 or adjoining a city of 300,000 may adopt first-class status. (Ithaca is the one city in the rural county of Tompkins, and its population is less than 30,000). Only Ithaca and Dryden, among Tompkins' nine towns, have acquired the designation of first-class.

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[1] Tompkins County Resource Development Committee, Business and Industry Subcommittee, "A Review of the Business and Industry of Tompkins County," Ithaca, July, 1966, p. 15 (Mimeographed.)

As a town of the second-class, Newfield is governed by an elected board consisting of a supervisor, two town councilmen, and two Justices of the Peace who serve dually as judicial and legislative officers. Town government, usually through establishment of "improvement districts," provides services such as water and sewerage, fire protection, sidewalks, lighting. Towns have the power to zone, but Newfield's development has been impeded by lack of zoning and planning. Social services, covering hospitals, health and welfare, are primarily county functions.

Town and county government, "improvement" and other special districts, school districts, are all part of the disjointed, overlapping maze characterizing American local government. The school district is the geographic and administrative subdivision for the Newfield Head Start program, and its seven man Board of Education is labeled the "governing body" for the project. Basic statistics for the area appearing in the 1960 Census report, however, were gathered within town, not school district boundaries. Data applicable to the town as opposed to the school district of Newfield are therefore entered, in answer to most of the items on the following "community information" Table 8.

Newfield's median family income was $5397 in 1960, compared with $6233 for the county. Only fourteen persons in the town were identified by the Census as non-white. School authorities believe one-fourth of the district populace to be of Finnish descent.

The Quality Measurement Project

Further proof of Newfield's socio-economic status emerged from application of tools furnished by the State Education Department's School Quality Measurement Project of 1962.

> The purposes of the project were to develop techniques for assessing the quality of education provided by a school system and to provide administrators with tools of procedures for identifying ways in which improvements may be achieved.[1]

Achievement norms were based on the Iowa tests

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[1] The University of the State of New York, The State Education Department, School Quality Workbook. (Offset, January 1963), p. 1.

TABLE 8.--Selected Community Information Data, Town of Newfield, 1960.

Total population	2193
Farm	394
Non-farm	1799
Per cent of population living in rural areas	100%
Total number of families	522
Total number of families with income less than $3,000	117
Per cent of all families with income less than $3,000	22.5%
Per cent of families with income less than $2,000	12.5%
Total civilian labor force	858
Males	578
Females	280
Per cent unemployed in civilian labor force	6.2%
Persons under 21	976
Per cent of persons under 21 receiving A.F.D.C. payments	5.6% (1966)
Persons aged 65 or over	175
Per cent of persons 65 and over receiving old assistance	5.7% (in 1966)
Total number of persons 25 years old and over	903
Per cent of persons 25 and over with less than 8 years of education	21.3
All housing units	675
Number of housing units substandard	336
Per cent of all housing units substandard	50.2%

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, _U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960_, unpublished data, Newfield. Statistics on OAA and AFDC payments, 1966, supplied by Tompkins County Department of Social Service.

of basic skills (grades 4-9) and the Iowa tests of educational development (grades 10-12). Norms were classified by grade level and subject area.

Families of children within any given school district, it was recognized, would not provide the exact socio-economic match of those in the national Iowa test sample. Staff of the Quality Measurement Project therefore decided to further classify scores by type of community (large city, urban, village, and rural), and socio-economic level of the community. A downward trend of average achievement was anticipated for students at the lower end of the socio-economic scale and from urban to village to rural groups.

A simple technique for measuring socio-economic level was explained in the School Quality Workbook. The staff compiled a Socio-economic Rating Scale, with each occupation assigned a value from 0-8, highest socio-economic status at the lowest end of the scale. "Professional persons," for example, were listed at zero. Actors, architects, trained nurses were among other job titles cited for this rating. The remainder of the scale was grouped into:

1. Farmers (owners and tenants of large scale operations)
2. Proprietors, managers, and officials (except farmers)
3. Clerks and kindred workers
4. Skilled workers and foremen
5. Semiskilled workers
6. Farm laborers
7. Other laborers
8. Servant classes

Many examples were provided for all categories except one and six. Classifiers were asked to obtain the occupation of the father (or mother, if relevant) of each child included in its sample. Each occupation was to be assigned a value of zero to eight, based on the above scale. By dividing all scores by the number of fathers (or mothers), the school would arrive at an average score descending in socio-economic level from one to five.

Newfield school administrators, sampling parental occupations as instructed in the School Quality Workbook, estimated that their district would lie in the lowest socio-economic category, close to number five on the scale.

Tompkins County Economic Opportunity Act Task Force

Newfield and the villages of Dryden and Freeville applied as single purpose agencies to administer Head Start projects in summer 1965. While their programs were in operation, a task force of county residents organized to study the nature and extent of deprivation in the county, and whether problems warranted a county-wide attack under the Economic Opportunity Act. The task force was spearheaded by the Social Planning Council of the United Fund. Participants represented civic and social agencies, Cornell and Ithaca colleges, city and regional planning boards, boards of education, the county health and welfare departments.

The Manpower and Statistics Committee of the EOA Task Force reported in September 1965 that "Tompkins County has a stable economy and is relatively well off when compared with its upstate neighbors. Our average family income of $6233 in 1960 was below the state average ($6371), but higher than that for the upstate counties ($6072)."[1]

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[1] "Report of Manpower and Statistics Committees", Tompkins County, 9/22/65, (Mimeographed) p. 1.

Partly because of the community's relative affluence, the committee expressed a special responsibility toward the Census- identified twenty-one hundred families earning less than three thousand dollars, and estimated 288-300 families receiving some form of public assistance in August 1965. Despite poverty "pockets," members of the Committee found most low-income and high-income families to be living side-by-side. Because few neighborhoods could be identified as "blighted" per se, the neighborhood could not be looked to as a basic organizational tool. The Committee concluded that rural areas must come in for a good share of attention in any contemplated anti-poverty program. Census information on housing was declared too general and out-dated, but the report did state that the largest percentage of undesirable housing existed in Newfield.

Tompkins County's unemployment rate of 2.5 per cent in April, 1966, the Committee discovered, compared very favorably with upstate averages ranging from three per cent for Albany to 4.1 per cent for Buffalo, and a New York State rate of 4.6 per cent. Acute shortages abounded in both the skilled and unskilled labor fields. Twenty to twenty-five per cent of the workers at Morris Chain, National Cash Register, and the Ithaca Gun Company were imported from other counties, while the colleges and retail stores searched vainly for service and clerical personnel. The Committee formed the "suspicion" that much county poverty was due to low wages, ranging from the then minimum of $1.25 to an average pay for unskilled labor of $1.92 per hour.

The Community Involvement and Public Relations Committee of the EOA Task Force met in 1965 with community groups in the city of Ithaca and in each township for the purpose of gaining "more realistic numbers and needs on disadvantaged families" than could be determined from the five-year old census data.[1] Members of the committee judged that approximately 850 families residing in the county, representing four thousand to five thousand persons, could gain from participation in economic opportunity programs. (This number contrasted with the 1960 census tabulation of 2100 county families whose incomes were below the poverty line). Only eight persons came to the committee meeting held in Newfield, but it was estimated that about fifty families in that town would be eligible for EOA assistance. Among EOA programs, much interest was displayed throughout the county in Head Start. Besides the summer programs, full-year projects were later to be initiated by Ithaca and Newfield during 1966.

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[1] EOA Task Force, Community Involvement and Public Relations Committee, p. 1 (typewritten).

Administrative Organization of the Head Start Program

"Newfield's concern for problems of poverty," as recorded in its first Head Start proposal for summer 1965, "began during the depression when the present school facilities were built by the WPA in 1939. Since then we have grown from three hundred to eight hundred students." Findings based on the Quality Measurement survey were cited. "The tax base of the district ($11,540 per pupil) is such that the state pays up to eighty per cent. There is not industry in the district and although the area is rural, there are only about twelve farms that are the sole means of support for a family."[1]

Mr. Donald Hickman, elementary principal in 1965, felt that Newfield's socio-economic level justified application for at least a modest Head Start program. Circulars about the project had been received from both the regional and state offices of the OEO. With Board of Education approval, Mr. Hickman submitted the proposal and served as director for the district's first Head Start project, accomodating twenty-eight pre-schoolers, in the summer of 1965. Because no county CAA was then functioning, the Newfield School District applied directly to the OEO as a single purpose agency to administer Head Start.

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[1] Memorandum (File Copy) Newfield Central School, n.d., p. 1.

The Tompkins County Economic Opportunity Corporation came into existence in July 1966, too late to act as applicant agency for the second Head Start program sponsored by the Newfield Central School, a so-called "full-year" project to run from April to August 1966. Mr. Hickman, by then Newfield's supervising principal, acted on the suggestion of the regional office field representative that he place someone other than himself in charge of Head Start. He appointed Mrs. Carolyn Obourn teacher-director of the project. She continued in this capacity for the eight-month program that began in November 1966.

Newfield Central School became a delegate agency when the Tompkins County EOC assumed the function of applicant for the 1966-7 full-year Head Start proposal. In little more than twelve months, however, three different executive heads were called upon to administer the CAA. Its first director resigned due to illness, its second remained for but a short time thereafter. The CAA Board was drastically reorganized by order of the OEO after the first director's resignation in March 1967. Mr. Hickman, who had been appointed to the EOC's original sixty man Board of Directors, was not elected to the reconstituted body of twelve. During the 1966-7 school year the Economic Opportunity Corporation exercised no control over Newfield's personnel, policy, or program. Mrs. Obourn attended a few EOC meetings where development of other anti-poverty programs was contemplated. Aside from their financial relationship, contact between Newfield's 1966-7 Head Start project and the EOC remained sketchy.

Kindergarten rooms that had been available during the summer were, of course, in use during the school semesters, and additional space was sought for children enrolled in full-year Head Start. A large, well-lighted ground floor classroom, with an outdoor play area on the same level, was rented from the local Methodist Church for the hours from 8:30 A.M. to 12:30 P.M. The School Board was "sold" the full year program when use of these accomodations was assured. The church is situated on a lot adjacent to the Newfield Central School, facilitating the daily delivery of hot lunches from the school cafeteria at 11:45 A.M. Children were transported to the church on the eight regular buses hired by the school system. They were taken home after the lunch hour on a bus and station wagon franchised by the school district.

Head Start at Newfield was, for the most part, self contained within the school district. Nearby Cornell is a Head Start regional training center, and its personnel were active in the Ithaca program. They appear to have had little to do with Newfield, however. Employees of the county Department of Welfare, even the social worker who carried thirty-five cases in Newfield, were not involved in Head Start. The dental hygienist and part-time nurse-teacher were those associated with the school system. An Ithaca pediatrician examined the children at the beginning of the program. Interim funds were provided under Head Start for this purpose while its medical subsidies were being phased out due to Medicaid. The County Health Department agreed to provide immunizations for children in the program. The outside agency most active in the project, however, was the New York State Cooperative Extension Service, whose home economist arranged monthly parent meetings and the final group picnic.

A comparison of school district expenditure and enrollment for the 1966-7 year follows in Table 9.

TABLE 9.--Budget and Enrollment Data, School District and Head Start, Newfield, 1966-1967.

	Newfield School District	Head Start
Total enrollment	775	20
Expenditures for current operations	$715,519	$17,195
Time period	9 mos.	8 mos.
Per pupil expenditure	$923	$859

The above represents a relatively rare example of per pupil expenditure for Head Start lower than that for the school district. A somewhat higher enrollment figure shown in the local school census would have brought down the district figure a bit. Head Start's per pupil expenditure would still have been lower, reflecting its modest scale.

Pupil Recruitment

In rural areas, a school census is taken by a district employee who canvasses the area house to house each summer. As of September 1965 the school census enumerator counted seventy-eight three-year olds and seventy-three four-year olds in the Newfield school district. For the 1966-7 program the Head Start teacher-director, Mrs. Carolyn Obourn, took the pre-school list as a foundation from which to work on pupil recruitment. She conferred with the elementary principal, supervising principal, and school nurse-teacher on names of children who might be eligible to participate in the program. Announcement of the grant appearing in the Ithaca Journal in mid-October was accompanied by an invitation to interested parents to contact

Mrs. Obourn at the Meadowbrook Trailer Park or to call the school office. Mrs. Obourn estimated that she visited about seventy homes before narrowing down the number of children to twenty.

This figure of twenty may be compared with the total number of four-year olds who would qualify for a pre-school program on the basis of age alone, seventy-three in the 1965 census. Thus, about twenty-seven per cent of the children in the eligible age group residing in the school district were actually enrolled in the Head Start program. This proportion is higher than the 22.5 per cent of town of Newfield families estimated to be earning less than $3000 in 1960, but ten per cent of children in Head Start need not be in the "poverty" category.

The New York State Education Department identified "disadvantaged children" in the Newfield School District for purposes of distributing ESEA funds. Its number of sixty-three was about twenty-five per cent below the district's estimate of eighty-three qualifying for aid. The twenty pupils enrolled in Head Start represented one-third or one-fourth, depending on which figure is used, of all educationally disadvantaged children identified in the district.

It is the Newfield Head Start director's opinion that seventy to ninety per cent of the eligible poor were reached by her manner of recruitment. Half the children were estimated to come from fatherless homes. One father worked in the fish laboratory at Cornell, another on a city construction crew, one was at Morris Chain. Mr. Hickman, the supervising principal, believed that even where a parent was able to find employment just above the poverty line, the children were "disadvantaged," if not necessarily "deprived."

News items about the program appearing in the Ithaca Journal used the term "Head Start." The phrase, with its implication of poverty, was underplayed in the community itself. Ditto sheet letters sent home to parents under the heading of the Newfield Central School referred to the "nursery school" rather than Head Start program. The School District's Annual Budget report mentioned only the "nursery school" at the Methodist Church.

Under the item entitled "Improving Program Quality" in the Newfield 1967-8 full year Head Start application, a new approach to reaching "all families" was suggested. The Tompkins County EOC proposed to hire a social worker who would divide her working time equally between the Ithaca and Newfield programs. She would assume the "majority of responsibility" for pupil recruitment.

Staff

Mrs. Obourn graduated from Mansfield State College, Mansfield, Pennsylvania, in 1964, and received certification as an elementary school teacher. She became acquainted with Mr. Hickman when hired to teach first grade at Newfield during the fall of 1964, before the birth of her child. To head the five-month Head Start program that began in April 1966 Mr. Hickman was faced with the problem of finding someone who was eligible and not currently employed. He was able to convince Mrs. Obourn to return to her profession for purposes of the teacher-directorship. She was hired on a full-time basis for the 1966-7 year at a monthly salary ($565) commensurate with that paid other district teachers at her "step" level, but only for the number of months the program was to run. Head Start, originally planned for ten months in 1966-7, was cut to eight due to late submission of budgetary revisions to the Office of Economic Opportunity. All salaries and contributions to the Teacher Retirement fund were therefore refigured to the actual duration of the project.

Two aides were hired by the director. One had an associate of art degree in nursery school education, and had asked for the position in the 1966 five-month program when she graduated from her two-year college in January. The other, a high-school graduate, was listed in the application as a case worker aide assigned to the school nurse in charge of the social service program. In practice, both aides were usually to be found assisting in the classroom. Each was paid $120 per month for fifty per cent time.

Salary for the nurse-social service director was calculated at twenty per cent time, as she was otherwise employed by the school district. She would come to the church at the end of the week to administer hearing, vision and color blindness tests, to arrange for immunizations, and to make referrals where necessary. One little girl received treatment at the Cornell Mental Health Clinic. Mrs. Obourn carried out the home visits, even though the nurse was also given the title of "social service director."

A part-time cook and two part-time bus drivers completed the staff. With the exception of one chauffeur, all non-professionals,? total family income was reported in excess of fifty-five hundred dollars.

Psychological services, listed as a cost to the school system, consisted chiefly of administration of the Stanford-Binet test to the children. The school psychologist also conferred with two parents on request, at the school.

Mrs. Obourn was granted maximum independence and flexibility in operating Head Start. Informality governed planning and supervision of the small program. The director and aides would get together most Thursdays when not overly busy to make plans for class work and field trips. Conferences concerning individual children were not usually held, as only two or three were said by the staff "to cause any real problem." Miss Mary Tilly, new elementary principal, visited the church about twice a month, and spoke with Mrs. Obourn at intervals about lesson and other plans. Mrs.

Obourn and one of her aides had taken part of a University sponsored eight-week Head Start training program.

Parent Involvement

Parents of all children enrolled in Head Start were automatically placed on what was called the Policy Advisory Committee, together with the elementary school principal, teacher-director, and two teacher aides. The group did not function in actuality as a genuine policy making body. As with most PTA type units members reacted passively, if not indifferently, to written and oral solicitation to attend meetings that were called by others. These meetings were, essentially, a continuation of efforts originated by the County Cooperative Extension Service during the prior "full-year" program to constitute mothers and fathers as an Extension group. Extension agents had been active in formation of the Tompkins County EOC, and Mr. Hickman asked them to carry on their agriculture and home demonstration work with Head Start parents. One of the agents at that time was a Newfield resident, who took the lead in plans and arrangements. Meeting notices were mailed to families from the Extension office, telephone calls were made, transportation assistance offered. But only two mothers and one father had come to the first formal Extension program in June 1966, and parental response in early 1967 was similar.

About a dozen parents were present at a December 1966 meeting, where formation of a "Parents' Club" was discussed. Letters pushing the idea were mailed under Cooperative Extension auspices, but this initiative went unrewarded. Lack of interest in the organization as such, or perhaps a feeling that homes were not presentable enough for assembly purposes, were advanced as possible reasons why the club notion did not take root.

Cooperative Extension sponsored a February meeting at which a film was shown on reading for children. Only two mothers were in attendance. These ladies were also the sole parents to accept an invitation to visit the Newfield library in March. Seven mothers and one father, perhaps with the arrival of milder spring weather, came to a demonstration of art materials for children in April. The June picnic was judged a whopping success, attracting fifty-six persons representing eleven families.

About four mothers and one father usually accompanied children on field trips. Two special events, a Christmas party and school circus, brought a majority of mothers to the classroom. Volunteer work did not elicit much involvement, as just one mother volunteered on any regular basis. Mrs. Obourn estimated that about a dozen parents requested conferences, and about half had observed a class in session. The teacher-director undertook home visits at the beginning, middle, and end of the program. She found it best to notify families in advance of her calls. All but two of the homes were equipped with telephones.

In an inspection report completed July 1966, the Newfield program was rated adequate or even excellent on most points such as physical facilities, personnel, medical and dental service. To the question, "Does the program appear to be reaching the really poor?" the inspector answered "Yes." He did conclude that the parent and volunteer program needed strengthening, and recommended "more reaching out" for genuine involvement. The 1967 Head Start proposal also recognized parent participation as "less than acceptable." The social worker later hired by the EOC for the 1967-8 program, as stated earlier, spent half her time with Ithaca and half with the Newfield project. She was made responsible for parent participation as well as pupil recruitment and social service.

Follow-Through

Medical and dental records were kept for all children in the program. A self-evaluation sheet provided by The Syracuse Head Start Evaluation Center was also maintained for each child. No systematic follow-through was arranged for the children, however, once their pre-school training was completed.

CHAPTER VI

RED CREEK: A SMALL RURAL PROGRAM

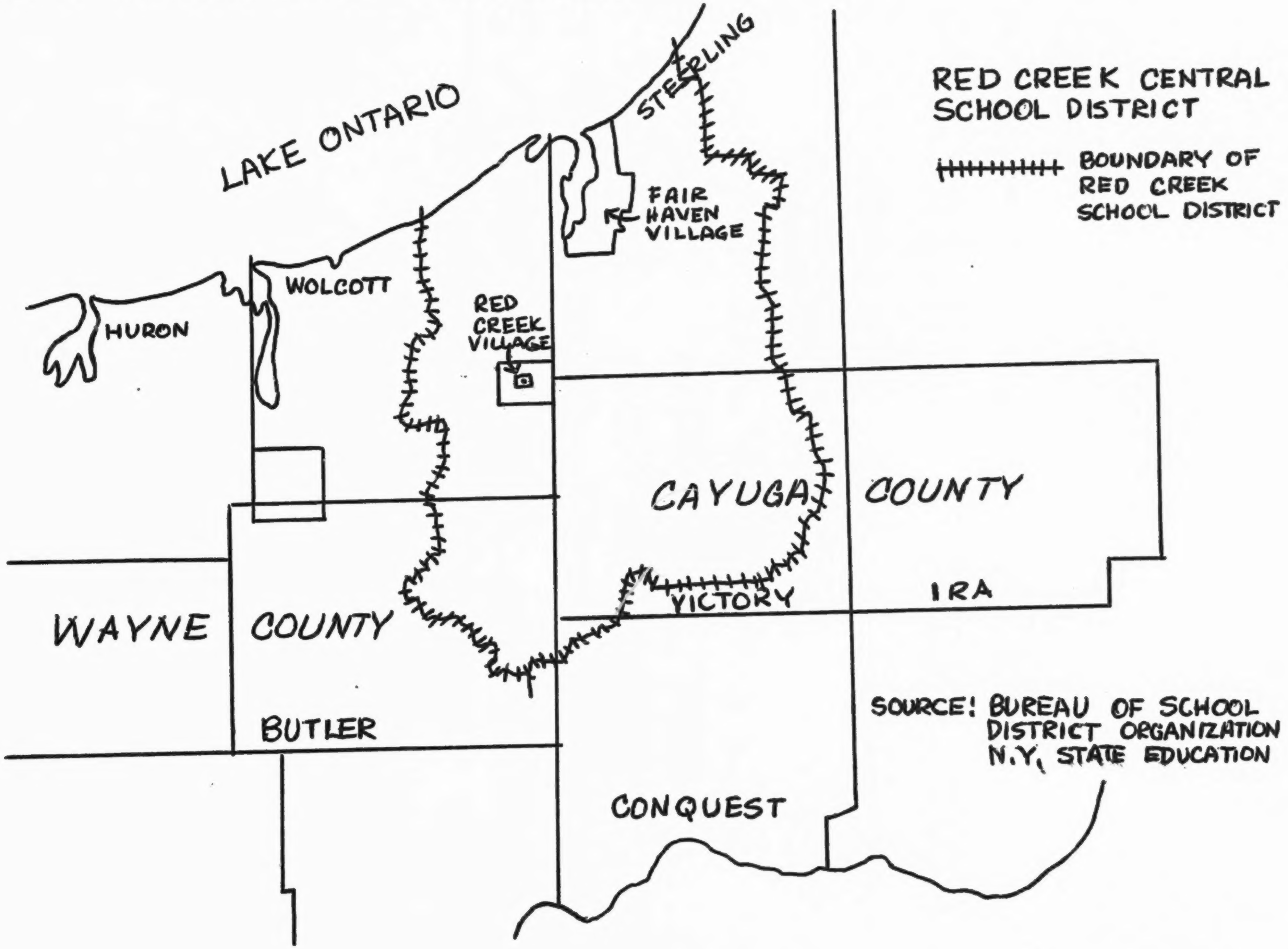
Socio-Economic Profile of the Community

School districts in the United States, it has been noted, are independent units of local government. Their jurisdictions frequently slice into several town and county confines, adding to the overlapping layers of existing unrelated units. A prime example is the district whose hub is Red Creek village in northeast Wayne County, close to the northwest border of Cayuga County. Boundaries of the school district cut through parts of the Wayne County towns of Wolcott and Butler, spill into the neighboring Cayuga County towns of Sterling, Victory, and a pinch of Conquest. (See Map 5, p. 172). Sterling town includes Fair Haven village, a port on Lake Ontario, and site of Fair Haven Beach State Park. In state listings the Red Creek school district is also referred to as "Wolcott 3." This designation will persist so long as local residents continue, as they did by a large margin in June 1966, to veto further centralization with Wolcott 1 and Rose 2.

The Red Creek School District lies in the Niagara-Ontario fruit belt extending behind the lake shores from Oswego to Erie counties. Until the beginnings of white settlement in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the land had been hunting ground for the Cayuga and Seneca Indians. In 1799 the former tribal name was adopted for one county created out of the "new" military tract set aside by the state to reward veterans of the Revolutionary War. The name of the adjacent county, formed in 1823, also honored a Revolutionary War veteran, General Anthony Wayne. Red Creek itself was first called Jacksonville for Andrew Jackson, but in 1832 took on the designation of the mill stream running through the village. Tradition opts for two theories of how the water's color was derived. One states that bark from a shore tannery caused discoloration. Another explanation is that the stream wound its course over beds of iron ore. Only the consequent fact of a rust-like color is undisputed.

Centralization to a one hundred square mile school district was begun in 1938 with the addition of property from Sterling and Victory. Fair Haven School, brought into

MAP 5.--Red Creek Central School District.


RED CREEK CENTRAL SCHOOL DISTRICT
BOUNDARY OF RED CREEK SCHOOL DISTRICT
LAKE ONTARIO
STERLING
FAIR HAVEN VILLAGE
WOLCOTT
HURON
RED CREEK VILLAGE
CAYUGA COUNTY
WAYNE COUNTY
VICTORY
IRA
BUTLER
CONQUEST

SOURCE: BUREAU OF SCHOOL DISTRICT ORGANIZATION N.Y. STATE EDUCATION the district in 1946, was converted to an elementary school, and a central junior-senior high school was constructed at Red Creek. The Margaret Cuyler Elementary School, in Red Creek, is the newest of the buildings.

The fact that school district lines ignore town boundaries vastly complicates the task of data collection for the area. Unpublished 1960 Census statistics are available for towns, but as noted, no one town is included in the school district in its entirety. The following breakdown, however, was secured from the New York State Comptroller's Office, of town property as a proportion of taxable property (full valuation) for the Red Creek School District:

Town	Property as per cent of taxable real property for district (full valuation)
Sterling	49.01
Wolcott	31.54
Victory	14.49
Butler	4.94

Sterling (Cayuga County) and Wolcott (Wayne County) account for close to eighty per cent of taxable real property in the district. For the most part, therefore, statistics obtainable for these two towns may be said to create a fairly representative picture of the area.

Land use in the region is overwhelmingly agricultural. Manufacturing provides more jobs (twenty-seven per cent in Wolcott and thirty-three per cent in Sterling), but locally, at least, it is manufacture based on processing foods grown in the area. Other manufacturing employment is provided by neighboring counties like Oswego, to which twenty-seven per cent of Sterling's workers commuted in 1960.

Apple, cherry and pear orchards form a significant "fruit belt" along the Lake Ontario plain. Hay, corn, oats, beans and some wheat are crops grown throughout the Red Creek school district.[1]

The Cornell Economic Land Classification placed more than fifty per cent of the North Cayuga County area in the lowest three classes of their land classification, indicating limited agricultural potential in that section. A gradual shift to marginal part-time farming was noted by the county agricultural agent for the town of Victory, together with some abandonment of farms.[1]

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[1] Cayuga County Master Plan Project, Cayuga County Planning Board, "Existing Land Use in North Sector," Auburn, New York, 1966 (Mimeographed), pp. 19-23.

Comstock Canneries, established at Red Creek in 1888, became in 1962 the Comstock Food Division of the Borden Company. As the nation's largest processor and packer of sliced apples, it is the area's largest employer, providing work for about six hundred persons on two shifts during the peak canning season from September to January. Another large food processor is the O + C Company of Wolcott, part of the Durkee Famous Foods group, producing french-fried onion rings, potato chips, etc.

Seasonality as a major characteristic of the work force scene is reflected in unemployment estimates for Wayne County (Newark area). Unemployment rates in February and April 1966 of 9.3 and 8.3 per cent fell to 2.7 and 3.6 per cent in October and December respectively. A similar trend, but at a higher level over-all, was noted for 1964 and 1965. Statistics available for Cayuga County (Auburn area) do not indicate the same broad employment rate swing, are more even throughout the year.[2]

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[1] Cayuga County Master Plan Project, "Historical and Regional Influences" (Mimeographed), p. 13.

[2] New York State Department of Labor, Division of Employment, "Work Force Summary," Newark Area, New York, 1964-1966 (Unpublished).

Wayne County has been designated by the United States Department of Labor as an area of "persistent unemployment." Even through 1966, the average annual unemployment rate did not fall below six per cent.

Many hamlets ranging in size from fifty to two hundred persons, form population clusters in the area. They function chiefly as residential centers, and have little or no commercial or industrial development. The village of Fair Haven's permanent population is 765, but its seasonal summer population is between fifteen hundred and two thousand. More summer cottages have been created in the resort than permanent homes. Fair Haven and Red Creek are both service centers, meaning that they offer convenience goods and services such as groceries, restaurants, barber shops, etc. For major items; i.e. clothing, furniture, and appliances, residents must shop at larger centers such as Auburn, Oswego, even Syracuse and Rochester.

The Wayne County Action Program Survey

Professional staff members of the Wayne County Action Program, Inc., agreed to use part of their OEO program development grant in Autumn 1966 to conduct a survey of lower socio-economic residents of the county. Twelve interviewers were able to complete questionnaires for 648 families chosen at random from a master list of more than thirteen hundred households specifically sampled as representative of the poverty population. Information about the households was derived from sources that "included clerical, educational, municipal and county offices."[1] Other selection criteria are not spelled out in the study. In the body of the report it is stated that an effort was made to "keep the potential respondent list at an income level . . . reflective of the over-all poverty situation."[2] But families were not eliminated from the survey because their incomes exceeded national poverty guidelines. Average income of families surveyed was $4,485.

Poverty families in Wayne County, interviewers discovered, do not, for the most part, constitute a migrant population. Contrary to local stereotypes about the poor, over thirty per cent of the families surveyed were native to Wayne County, another forty per cent had originated elsewhere in New York State, and two-thirds of the families had been living in the county nine years or more. Further evidence of stability was the finding that only half of the respondent group had changed residence in the five-year period from 1962 to 1967.

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[1] Wayne County Action Program, Inc., Fifteen Thousand Challenges, A Study of the Under-Privileged in Wayne County (OEO CAP Grant #1313, September 1967), p. 2.

[2] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

To define the intensity of poverty in different parts of the county, the survey area was divided into seven districts, each containing one or more towns. District 4, covering the towns of Huron, Rose, Wolcott, and Butler, includes the Wayne County portion of the Red Creek school district. The largest size low-income families were encountered in this district (average number of persons 6.3 compared with 5.6 for the county as a whole). Minor children were part of eighty per cent of the households. In almost every district, close to eighty per cent of the families were headed by two parents. CAP administrators concluded, therefore, that major poverty programs for the county should be directed at the family as a unit, with the aim of breaking the "poverty cycle."

Some seventy-three per cent of the adult males surveyed were in the twenty to forty-nine year age category. A total of ninety-one per cent were in the "productive age group" from twenty to sixty-four, and four-fifths of the males in this group were fully employed. The following are the major job classifications of the currently employed persons interviewed in Wayne CAP study:

TABLE 10.--Wayne CAP Survey, Major Job Classifications of the Currently Employed (In Per cents), 1966.

Job Classification	All Males	Non-white Males	All Females	Non-white Females
Farming	16	30	3	10
Household, domestic	1		14	13
Machine trades	16	7	3	
Benchwork, assembly	8	5	14	21
Building trades	17	26		
Misc. transport, packaging	21	8	6	6
No specific trade	10	8	45	37

Source: Fifteen Thousand Challenges, p. 30.

Of the homes surveyed, seventy-two per cent were found to be farm or tenant houses, seventeen per cent shanty or motel, eleven per cent mobile. The average age of poverty housing was about fifty-nine years. Fifty per cent had no central heat, thirty-four per cent no bathroom or potable water on tap.

As expected, participation in formal organizations was low among the respondent group. In District 4, less than one-fourth of the poverty families reported regular church attendance and less than ten per cent were members of any civic organization. This district far exceeded all the others in that more than half the respondent families reported members who were elementary or high school dropouts. It also ranked last in per capita income ($698), next to last in annual male income ($3705).

Community Information Table

The following Community Information Table 11, based chiefly on 1960 Census data, is presented for the towns of Sterling and Wolcott. While all the land area of these towns is not encompassed by the Red Creek School District, socio-economic statistics for the two towns should provide a good representation of the area generally.

TABLE 11.--Selected Community Information Data, Sterling and Wolcott Towns, 1960.

	Sterling	Wolcott
Total population	2495	3556
Farm	731	374
Non-farm	1764	3132
Per cent of population living in rural areas	100%	100%
Total number of families	641	943
Total number of families with income less than $3,000	170	264
Per cent of all families with income less than $3,000	26.5%	28%
Number of families with income less than $2000	78	160
Males 14 and over in civilian labor force	628	828
Per cent of such males unemployed	7.7%	9.9%
Females 14 and over in civilian labor force	299	473
Per cent of such females unemployed	8.6%	21.6%
Persons under 21	1067	1322

TABLE 11.--continued

	Sterling	Wolcott
Per cent of persons under 21 receiving A.F.D.C. payments	n.a.	3.7% (1966)
Persons aged 65 and over	317	533
Per cent of persons 65 and over receiving old-age assistance	n.a.	3.6%
Total number of persons 25 years old and over	1366	2129
Persons 25 and over with less than 8 years education	270	470
Per cent of persons 25 and over with less than 8 years education	20%	22%
All housing units	1127	1511
Number housing units substandard	645	651
Per cent all housing units substandard	57.3%	43.1%
Country of Origin, Foreign Stock		
German stock	79	
English stock	67	139
Canadian stock	76	95
Total foreign stock	279	434

TABLE II.--continued

	Sterling	Wolcott
Foreign stock as per cent of total population	11.1%	12.2%
Non-white as per cent of total population		1.6%

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960*, unpublished data Sterling and Wolcott; statistics on OAA and AFDC payments, 1966, supplied by County of Wayne Department of Social Welfare.

Administrative Organization of the Program

The Red Creek Central School's then elementary principal, Mr. Anthony St. Phillips, was directly responsible for securing school district sponsorship of the thirty-five pupil Head Start project in the summer of 1965. Mr. St. Phillips had come to the district in 1957 as teacher-principal of its Fair Haven Elementary School. He was appointed elementary program supervisor and principal of the new Margaret W. Cuyler school in 1962. The elementary summer school program had been initiated during his administration.

In submitting the District's original application in 1965, Mr. St. Phillips cited the following figures:

> The unemployment insurance rate in our area in February 1965 was 10.9 per cent. The average family income for February 1965 was $100.53. Those receiving welfare by the partial statistics made available from the Welfare Department is about ten per cent. It can be stated that one out of five persons in our community receives some form of aid.[1]

Further proof of Red Creek's socio-economic status emerged from its application of tools furnished by the State Education Department's Quality Measurement Project (described in the chapter on the Newfield Head Start project). On a scale of one to five (highest number indicating lowest socio-economic rank), Red Creek determined through a survey of families of fourth graders that it rated four plus. Added to other facts known about the area, school district officials felt justified in applying as a single purpose agency for summer Head Start funds.

Mr. St. Phillips, with support from the Board of Education and Supervising Principal Ralph DeMas, filled out the proposal and served as first director of the Head Start program. The Red Creek Central School was also the applicant for the full-year program held in the district from May to August 1966. The Wayne County Action Program, Inc., funded in the fall of 1966, was able to act as grantee for Red Creek's 1966-7 full-year program, with the Red Creek Central School the administering agency. Clyde was the only other Wayne County community to have participated in Head Start, having initiated summer projects during 1965 and 1966. During 1966-7 Wayne CAP prodded the Red Creek program to greater conformity with OEO guidelines for parent participation. It had come into existence too late to have much to do with the actual proposal, but did exercise supervision of the 1967-8 application.

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[1] Red Creek Central School, Head Start Child Development Program, application form, Summer 1965, Appendix C.

Red Creek's pre-school program was held in the regular kindergarten classroom during its first summer of operation, but space was very much at a premium during the school year. Search for additional facilities led to rental of the basement of the local St. Thomas' Catholic Church, renovated to provide a carpeted classroom forty feet by thirty-four feet, with a partitioned area in the back serving as the director's office. A basement kitchen, toilet facilities, and small outdoor play area were also furnished.

Twenty children attended class in each of the sessions held at the church, one from 9:00 A.M. to 12:30 P.M., and the other from 12:00 to 3:25 P.M. A common lunch hour was held for both sessions from about 12:00 to 12:30, prepared in the church kitchen by a cook hired on a part-time basis solely for this purpose.

Children going to the pre-school program at the church in the morning and those leaving in the afternoon were transported on regular routes of buses serving the school district. At approximately 11:00 A.M. two bus drivers assigned to Head Start would leave, each on a twenty mile run, to pick up the afternoon session pupils. After lunch the same bus drivers would take the morning group home. These drivers, both women, were also available for transporting the children on special errands, i.e. to doctors' and dentists' examinations, and on field trips.

A comparison of school district expenditures and enrollment for the 1966-7 year follows:

TABLE 12.--Budget and Enrollment Data, School District and Head Start, Red Creek, 1966-1967.

	Red Creek School District	Head Start
Total enrollment	1329	40
Expenditures for current operations	$1,197,327	$44,588
Time period	9 mos.	8 mos.
Per pupil expenditure	$ 900	$1106

Per pupil expenditure for the Head Start program exceeded that of the regular school district. These figures reflected lower pupil to teacher ratio, use of aides, a director, rental of extra class space, extra buses, field trips, and supportive services.

Pupil Recruitment

As in other rural areas, an annual school census and enrollment report is tabulated at Red Creek, with results forwarded to the New York State Education Department. In August 1966 a teacher aide at the high school was hired to undertake the house to house canvass required to complete that task. News items in the local press reminded residents that the survey was underway. Those who would not be home were asked to leave pertinent information with their neighbors.

The final report, as amended during the fifth week of school, counted eighty-four three-year olds and ninety-eight four-year olds. Twenty-two of the four-year olds were enrolled in kindergarten in the fall.

The census taker, through her door to door inquiries, was able to gain some first-hand knowledge about the status of school and pre-school age children resident in the area. The school nurse and bus drivers were others who aided in Head Start recruitment through their personal acquaintance with district families. When the summer program was first instituted in 1965, the Wayne County Welfare Department provided some leads to eligible children on the basis of their active public assistance load. Since then, however, there has been virtually no contact between the Department and the Red Creek Head Start program.[1] A county nurse in Cato did bring to the project, however, a child with cerebral palsy.

Stories about Head Start appeared in school and town newspapers. Lively interest in the project's purposes and activities was displayed in a series of pro and con "Letters to the Editor," appearing in the Red Creek Herald during the first half of 1967. The director delivered speeches about the program to church groups, Rotary, and the Business and Professional Women's Club. Experience of families associated with the project in prior years brought word of mouth publicity to the community. At a special pre-school screening held in the fall, children accompanied by parents were given eye and ear examinations by the school nurse, and took the ABC inventory as administered by kindergarten teachers. Of the group, the forty deemed most in need of attention on the basis of family income and low test scores were enrolled in Head Start.

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[1] Letter to the principal investigator from Roger H. Butts, Commissioner, County of Wayne Department of Social Welfare, August 7, 1967.

A comparison can be made between this figure of forty and the number of disadvantaged children in the district identified by the New York State administrator for Title I funds under ESEA. It has been shown that school district and State Office estimates differ markedly depending on the data used as base. Red Creek is the only one of the four districts under study where the school officials' calculation of numbers of disadvantaged is less than state officials' (71 v. 105).[1] Using the higher state figure, it would appear that the number of Head Starters was more than forty per cent of the total of disadvantaged children identified in the district.

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[1] Letter from Fred Kershko, July 27, 1967.

Assuming that 4-3/4 year-olds entering kindergarten were balanced by 3-3/4 year-olds, about ninety-eight children were identified in the school census as in the age group eligible for Head Start. Thus, forty per cent of them were enrolled in the program. This figure was notably higher than the 26.5 per cent and twenty-eight per cent of families in Sterling and Wolcott, respectively, reported as earning less than three thousand dollars in 1960.

A breakdown of occupations as reported for forty-four fathers of children enrolled in the 1966-7 Head Start program over the year would show roughly the following:

Laborer, cook, logger	12
Machine and factory work	11
Construction, carpentry, plumbing	7
Truck driver, brakeman	5
Farmer, farm machinery salesman	5
Other	4

The Head Start director cautioned, however, that the above reported occupations were not necessarily the actual ones, and did not indicate periods of unemployment throughout the year. More than one-third of the fathers were high school graduates. Their median for years of education was 10.5.

Red Creek's Head Start project conducted from May to August 1966 did not extend to migrant families who came to pick fruit in the area during the summer. The New York State Department of Agriculture and Markets, cooperating with the Education Department, sponsored a day care program In Red Creek in 1966 for sixty-one children from those families, eighteen of them in the two to five year age bracket. Red Creek's full-year program ended in June 1967. Because fewer laborers migrated to the area than during the previous summer, the Wolcott and Red Creek day care programs were combined.

Staff

When Red Creek applied for full year Head Start funding in early 1966, OEO's then regional office representative, Miss Sally Kennedy, requested that Mr. St. Phillips seek someone besides himself for the post of director, as his numerous duties left little time to fill the position. Mr. St. Phillips was personally acquainted with Mrs. Marian Curtis through her work in community affairs. She possessed an M.A. in educational supervision and administration, had run a nursery school for migrant children in 1952. In recent years she had done library work in Fair Haven. Her name was on the school district's substitute teacher list.

Because Mrs. Curtis' step-son was president of the Board of Education, Head Start's "governing body" for purposes of the application, some question of mepotism arose. A letter sent to Miss Kennedy by Mr. St. Phillips in January 1966 reveals some of the problems he perceived as administrator. In his opinion, the Head Start program was "urban oriented." It placed a "great burden on a rural community for staff, consultants, facilities and services which are more abundant in city areas . . . For example, we have had to turn to the city of Fulton for pediatricians, to Newark for health services, to Auburn for public health services, and to Lyons for social services . . . the farthest distance being forty miles from our district . . . It would be very nice to obtain a director to take over this program, but unfortunately all those who qualify are already full-time employees and could not consider a position based on an uncertain future."[1]

Miss Kennedy made a telephone call of inquiry at the principal's office at a time when Mrs. Curtis, coincidentally, happened to be present. Mr. St. Phillips asked Miss Kennedy to speak with his director-designate at length. Mrs. Curtis was then hired in the dual capacity of director of education and social services on a half-time basis.

Once Mrs. Curtis had been appointed, she was granted full authority for hiring and firing by the program's principal officer, Mr. Ralph DeMas, supervising principal of the Red Creek Central School. Two certified teachers, one for each session, served the 1966-7 program on a seventy-five per cent basis. In addition to their half-day in the classroom, they were expected to devote "twenty-five per cent time" to visits or other work with parents. Although staff members did not qualify for seniority rights and other benefits in the manner of regular school employees, teachers did have contributions for them made to the New York State Teachers' Retirement Fund.

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[1] Letter from Anthony St. Phillips to Sally Kennedy, January 18, 1966.

Two aides, both with high school education, assisted the teachers. One helped in the morning, the other in the afternoon, and the two were present during lunch-time. They were both parents of children once enrolled in the program, and had secured their jobs, the director stated simply, by coming and asking for them. Two "follow-up aides" or "parent coordinators" were also hired. They were expected to call on families to inquire whether required medical and dental work was receiving attention, whether referral or other problems had arisen, and to handle them accordingly. The fact that they went out to make calls in pairs was considered an advantage in gaining entry to homes and achieving rapport with residents. In May they were placed in charge of the weekly morning coffee hours held for mothers. One of the parent coordinators had had two children in the first Head Start program. They were personally known to the director through her community contacts, and were chosen as possessing the requisite traits of personality and competence.

A cook, assistant cook, janitor, and secretary--all part-time employees, were either parents or grandparents of children enrolled in Head Start at one time. Aides and other employees who filled out data forms for the Project Head Start Research and Evaluation Center at Syracuse University listed five thousand dollars as their minimum family income, in some cases going to eight thousand dollars and ten thousand dollars.

An educational psychologist was hired in the fall as a consultant to work for Head Start one day a week and one day a week for the district elementary school. His position was somewhat unique. Besides making personal observations of the children, and administering the California test of mental maturity, he appeared to be an "extra teacher" as he played and ate lunch with the children during his one day a week with them. He attended parent meetings, and visited five of the parents at home on their invitation.

Children were taken to a pediatrician in Fulton for a general examination when the program began, and again as needed. Contract service for care was provided by two dentists in the neighboring town of Wolcott, but one could not conduct the examinations until late May. The director expressed concern for future programs, when funds for this type of service would no longer be made available due to Medicaid. Supervision would then have to be exercised over each family to assure that each child received an examination by a private physician and dentist under the Medicaid program.

The school nurse visited the program on a twenty-five per cent time basis. Contract service also included speech consultation.

Due to a failure of communication, the director did not learn of the Syracuse University Head Start pre-orientation program until too late to make arrangements for staff participation. The director, teachers, and aides did attend conferences held in Albany, New York, and Syracuse during the school year. Discussion and conferences by the director and staff were held informally on an almost daily basis. The director's partitioned "cubby hole" behind the school room placed her in a close supervisory position. Pupils, director, and staff ate together at the common lunch hour. The supervising principal stopped in at the church during class time for occasional visits.

Parent Involvement

The 1966-7 proposal lists seven persons as constituting the Policy Advisory Committee. Among the members were the president of the Board of Education, supervisory principal of the school district, the Head Start pediatrician, a psychologist, minister, and representative of the Wayne County Welfare Department. Only one of the seven was a member of what was called the "parent group." The committee was later expanded to include an additional parent representative, although she did not have a child enrolled in the 1966-7 program. This group did not play an active role in writing the proposal or in making major decisions on policy or personnel.

As the year progressed, five sets of parents of children currently enrolled in Head Start volunteered to serve on the Policy Advisory Council, thus bringing it more in line with OEO standards. This Council met once a month. As more parent representation was secured, it became increasingly responsible for matters such as program planning, suggesting potential new pupils, and writing the proposal for the following year. Members did not participate in hiring professional personnel, but were asked to recommend teacher aides.

Parents named to the Advisory Committee had become interested through the monthly Head Start PTA meetings. The first of these meetings was of the general parent orientation type. At later sessions, talks were delivered by the Head Start psychologist, school nurse, Welfare Department representative, and director of the Wayne County Action Program. Movies of the children's activities were usually shown. Although parents were required to furnish their own transportation, the Director reported typical attendance as about seventy-five per cent of mothers, two or three fathers. A very large turnout was noted at the family picnic, the last event of the school year.

In May requests originating with the parents themselves led to a series of four Thursday morning socials. Mothers and younger children were transported on regular school district buses to the local Methodist Church, where meeting facilities had been made available. Baby sitting in an adjacent room was under the supervision of the high school home economics teacher and girls enrolled in Future

Homemakers of America. Coffee and donuts were served throughout the morning. Before departing on the Head Start bus, mothers assisted in preparing lunch for themselves and any children who might have accompanied them. The school nurse spoke on first aid procedures and handling emergencies at the first meeting. Cake decorating and nutrition were topics covered at the others. Attendance, as reported in the local newspaper, varied between ten and eighteen.

Field trips proved a popular activity with the overwhelming majority of Head Start mothers. The director estimated that some ninety per cent of mothers accompanied the children for their medical and dental examinations. Activities held during the day were not convenient for fathers. About half the parents initiated requests for conferences with the teachers, and approximately the same number managed to observe a class in session. The director and Head Start psychologist believe that, despite transportation problems, the good display of interest by the mothers was aided by the factor of rural isolation. Each of the two buses returning children from the morning session or picking them up for the afternoon makes a twenty-mile run. Many neighbors are not within viewing distance of one another. It was felt that Head Start activity filled a definite social gap.

The parent coordinators managed to speak with families at home at least twice during the school year, although there was one house to which they were denied entry. Teachers also visited the homes at least once.

Follow-Through

Red Creek's 1966-7 Head Start proposal is checked for both a "full-year" and "follow-through" program. The latter is dependent chiefly on the parent coordinators referred to above. They "follow through" on parents even after children are in kindergarten. Once having gotten their feet in the door, literally, with the opening that they wish to check up on medical and dental treatment, they continue with other matters of child welfare determined with the director to be important. They may make referrals to other community agencies.

All records maintained by the director for the children are kept in individual folders, and forwarded to either of the two district elementary schools the child is expected to attend. There, they become part of his general record. Each folder holds results of medical and dental examinations, scores on the California Mental Maturity Test and ABC Inventory, and comments by the psychologist and parent coordinators. At the end of the 1966-7 school year, the Head Start psychologist suggested that fourteen of the children might either benefit from repeating Head Start or entering the special pre-first class after kindergarten.

Pre-first, a federally sponsored program, was to be inaugurated at Red Creek in the fall of 1967 for twenty selected children. They were to be placed in the special class on the recommendation by either kindergarten or first grade teachers that more time for reading or other readiness was required.

CHAPTER VII

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

This report aims, through the method of comparative analysis, to highlight some of the factors influencing administration of four selected full-year Head Start projects operating during 1966-1967 in communities characterized by differing degrees of urbanization. Head Start, as a component of the community action program, was to be an interdisciplinary project mobilizing local resources for the purpose of social intervention in the poverty cycle at an early stage of child development. Guidelines established at the national level stressed administrative flexibility allowing for innovative approaches tailored to local priorities. Focus throughout this paper has been on how the two cities and two rural school districts studied implemented then existing guidelines in terms of: 1) Administrative organization; 2) Pupil recruitment; 3) Staff; 4) Parent involvement; 5) Follow-through.

A basic assumption was that rural-urban variables had some effect upon performance in the above categories. The areas selected are not "typical" of any rubric. Indeed, as touched upon in the introductory chapter, "urban" and "rural" are points on a continuum rather than dichotomous terms. It is doubtful that any specific localities, no matter how carefully sampled, could accurately represent all the gradations in characteristics that shade the two concepts. Chapter I revealed that the cities of Utica and Amsterdam, and rural school districts of Red Creek and Newfield, differed widely in size, population density, racial and ethnic composition. As between the cities, for example, Utica had more than three times the population of Amsterdam; its intensity of poverty was complicated by racial factors not encountered elsewhere.

All four communities were geographically accessible, and their Head Start directors gave permission for data collection. They were already cooperating with researchers from the Syracuse University Research and Evaluation Center, who had chosen these same programs for testing. Some dovetailing of information was therefore made possible.

Administrative Organization

Guidelines

Head Start proposed to break new ground in the anti-poverty war. Initiative in administration at the local level was welcomed from many sources, including but not restricted to the regular school system. Applications for aid might originate with single or multi-purpose community action agencies. Schools, churches, other public or private groups could constitute the former if they instituted policy boards meeting OEO standards. About one-third of the nation's 1966-1967 full year Head Start projects were sponsored by school systems. All proposals were to be channeled through "umbrella" CAA's wherever established. Jurisdictions could be area-wide or confined, in larger communities, to designated "target area" neighborhoods of intensest poverty. Hopefully, single-purpose agencies might become "building blocks" towards later linking of additional anti-poverty activities into a multi-pronged attack.

Applicants were encouraged to supplement OEO funds with other available monies, i.e., under ESEA. Checkpoint procedures were to assure coordination of OEO and ESEA proposals with local school officials, health and welfare organizations, and the CAA.

"Mobilization of community resources" would be demonstrated, in part, by the 10 per cent of total program cost contributed by the locality in cash or "in kind." The latter could take the form of basic services or facilities, and "must represent a net increase of activity in anti-poverty effort on the part of the local community."

"Full year" Head Start projects might operate for periods from eight to twelve months for either part of or for an entire day. A good feeding program was required, emphasizing "simple nutritious meals." Provision for transporting children not within easy walking distance of the centers was mandatory.

Rural-Urban Factors

The two rural and Amsterdam city school districts had applied for funding as single-purpose agencies when endeavoring to participate in the first nation-wide Head Start experiment during the summer of 1965. Only Utica, among the four localities, was served by a multi-purpose community action agency at that time (later called UCA, Inc.). The city was large enough to support a CAA functioning chiefly within target neighborhoods delineated on the basis of Census data. When the Utica school system sought ESEA funding to enlarge Head Start in January 1967, it was with the understanding that UCA, Inc. would continue as administrator, at least until fall 1968. (See Chart 6.)

Newfield Head Start did act, to a limited extent, as a "building block" towards the Tompkins County EOC created in 1966. The EOC task force, when it undertook a preliminary poverty survey of the county, uncovered local interest that had been sparked by the then existing single-purpose Head Start programs. The Newfield Central School became a delegate of the Tompkins County EOC for purposes of its 1966-1967 full year Head Start project, but early relationships with the unstable CAA were tenuous.

The Red Creek and Amsterdam school districts also

Chart 6.--Administrative Organization, Four Sample Programs

	Utica	Amsterdam	Red Creek	Newfield
Total enrollment	250	75	40	20
Number of classes	17	5	2	1
Number of centers	9	3	1	1
Name of grantee	Utica Community Action, Inc.	Fulmont Facility	Wayne County Action Program, Inc.	Tompkins County E.O.C.
Delegate	U.C.A., Inc. Utica Board of Education	City School District	Red Creek Central School	Newfield Central School
How financed	OEO - 10 classes ESEA - 7 classes 10% of OEO funds local in-kind	OEO - 90% In-Kind-10%	OEO - 90% In-Kind-10%	OEO - 90% In-Kind-10%
Other pre-school programs	--	Early Start	--	--
Where classes held	2 public schools 1 parochial " 1 church 2 social agencies 3 public housing projects	3 public schools	Church	Church
Hours in session	Half day	Half day	Half day	Half day
Days @ week	4	5	5	5
Nutrition furnished	Snack[a]	Lunch, Snack	Lunch	Lunch
Transportation	Bus for 7 children only	Taxi 6 children only	School dist. bus system	School dist. bus system
Per pupil expenditure Head Start	$866	$965	$1106	$859
Per pupil expenditure school district	$760	$966	$900	$923

[a] Except Potter School, where breakfast served to morning group, lunch to afternoon group.

felt remote from the newly created CAA's of which they were made delegates in 1966. Red Creek, more in Cayuga than Wayne County, nevertheless worked amicably with Wayne's CAP. Administrators of the long established Amsterdam school system, however, bristled at being forced to funnel their full-year Head Start proposal through a new Fulmont Facility encompassing the two rival counties of Fulton and Montgomery.

The urban and rural programs differed not only in size and complexity, as measured by total pupil enrollments, but in the kind of resources that could be mobilized for administrative purposes. The largest of the projects (Utica) served more than ten times as many pupils as the smallest (Newfield), and was able to command additional ESEA funds for its pre-school disadvantaged. Amsterdam also found another source of pre-school funding through the N.Y. State Education Department's Experimental Pre-Kindergarten program. A variety of Utica agencies contributed space to Head Start; two public and one parochial school, a church, two social agencies, and three public housing projects. In the rural areas the churches housing the programs were physically close to the central schools. Because school space was at a premium while full-year classes were in session, this choice was dictated by expediency.

Children attended class for a half-day session five days a week in all communities except Utica. That city's unique plan (no longer permitted after April 1968) called for Fridays to be set aside for in-service training, clerical work, home visits.

The large city encountered the greatest obstacles in meeting full nutritional requirements. Potter was the sole Utica school with facilities for meals, and also the single Utica center at which breakfast or lunch was served to Head Start pupils. Substantial mid-session "snacks" that included hot soup were, however, available at the other centers. Amsterdam Head Starters ate lunch at the school cafeterias. A part-time cook and assistant prepared meals at Red Creek in the church kitchen. At the Newfield church center, lunch was delivered from the school cafeteria next door.

Rural areas must furnish transportation for widely scattered pupils. Newfield and Red Creek pre-schoolers rode one way on the buses of the regular school system, an "in-kind" community contribution. Special buses and drivers were employed for the remainder of the round trip, were also available for field trips and other purposes as needed. In Amsterdam six children were taxied from the old fifth ward to the modern McNulty school. Seven Utica Head Starters were transported from Cornhill to Humphrey Gardens in a small integration effort.

Other Factors

Head Start per pupil expenditure usually exceeds that of the regular school system. Costs shown on the chart(6) resulted from low pupil-teacher ratios, use of aides, administrative staff, allocations for field trips and supportive service. Newfield represented the one case where per pupil Head Start expenditure was less than per student expenditure at the central school, a clue to the modest scope of the program. Red Creek, with a part-time director, follow-up aides as well as teacher aides, registered the highest per pupil pre-school costs.

Pupil Recruitment

Guidelines

Income standards for families of pre-schoolers eligible to participate in Head Start have been discussed in Chapter I. At least 90 per cent of the children enrolled in each class were to be recruited from those income categories. Families on welfare were automatically eligible regardless of income. Emphasis was placed on seeking out children from the most disadvantaged groups, and in reflecting the racial or ethnic composition of the area. Discrimination in recruiting or staffing was specifically forbidden. OEO proved receptive to deviations from a strict geographic system designed to counter a pattern of de facto segregation that might otherwise arise. Migrant families, despite their transitory status, were to be considered part of the target population.

In a recent detailing of recruitment techniques, the OEO stated that families should be given a "clear and written understanding of income eligibility requirements."[1] Available lists of eligible families (i.e., school lists and welfare rolls) were to be used to furnish leads. Door to door contact was specified, to be conducted by "persons who could reasonably be expected to be successful in recruiting" as a result of residence, similarity of race, language, etc.

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[1] Head Start Manual, September 1967, p. 8.

Rural-Urban Factors

The informal interpersonal network functioned for pupil recruitment, as for other aspects of life in the rural school districts. Leads were furnished there by the school census takers, who stop by at all households during the summer, and by school bus drivers knowledgeable about families living in the vicinity. Newfield Head Start's teacher-director personally selected pupils after she visited the homes of all families listed in the census as containing four-year olds. Specific designation of those to participate in the Red Creek program was made at an early fall screening conducted at the school, to which parents were urged to bring their children. Low scores on the pre-kindergarten test, health and adjustment problems, were among factors considered in determining Red Creek Head Start enrollment.

Income eligibility per se was not clearly spelled out in either rural area. Inadequate data were kept at both centers to demonstrate just how poor the participating families actually were. The Utica Head Start office, however, maintained records of the family incomes of all children enrolled. Family heads in Amsterdam were asked to sign affidavit forms testifying not to actual income, but affirming that they were earning less than the OEO minimums.

Red Creek's 1966-1967 program ended in June. The Head Start project conducted there from May to August 1966 did not extend to migrant families who came to pick fruit in the area during the summer. The N.Y. State Department of Agriculture and Markets, cooperating with the Education Department, sponsored a day care program in Red Creek in 1966 for sixty-one children from those families, eighteen of them in the two to five-year age bracket. Because fewer laborers migrated to the area during the summer of 1967, the Red Creek and Wolcott day care programs were combined.

Recruitment in the cities was affected by racial and ethnic factors not present in the more homogeneous rural

CHART 7.--Pupil Recruitment, Four Sample Programs.

	UTICA	AMSTERDAM	RED CREEK	NEWFIELD
Primary responsibility	Individual teachers and aides	Social worker	School census taker	Teacher-director
Primary method	Door to door	Door to door	Review census pre-kindergarten test	Door to door
Racial composition of pupils	37% Negro 4.4% "other"	20% Spanish-American (chiefly Puerto Rican)	1 Negro child	All white
Estimated per cent of 4-year olds enrolled in Head Start	10%	18.5%	40%	27%

communities. Aside from one Negro child at Red Creek, all those participating in the rural programs were white. About thirty-seven per cent of the pre-school pupils at Utica were Negro and 4.4 per cent "other." An estimated twenty per cent of the children in the Amsterdam Head Start project were of Spanish American origin, chiefly from Puerto Rico. Twelve of these fifteen were enrolled at one school, East Main. At least one Negro child attended each of sixteen of seventeen Utica classes, but they constituted more than fifty per cent of the pupils at three centers.

Informal leads were supplied to those responsible for recruitment in the cities, supplemented by a somewhat military style procedure in Utica. A school census of the type taken in the rural areas is not conducted in N.Y. State urban communities. Utica teachers and aides, armed with lists furnished by the CAA opportunity centers, churches, schools, etc. went out into neighborhoods ringing doorbells at set times before the opening of class. CAA sponsorship meant that cooperation could be obtained from established opportunity centers for this purpose. In Amsterdam the social worker who had been with the program continuously since 1965 was able to take advantage of his acquaintanceship with poverty families. His ability to speak Spanish was deemed an asset in dealing with the newly arrived families of Latin origin.

Other Factors

The comparison of estimated percentages of four-year olds enrolled in Head Start versus percentage of families earning below three thousand dollars is admittedly crude. (See Chart 7.) It does provide some idea, however, of the magnitude of poor families reached by the program, if not of the intensity of their poverty. These figures hint that only in Utica were more poor children living than were able to be served by the program (15.7 per cent versus 10.8 per cent). In Amsterdam and Newfield the proportions were close. At Red Creek, however, the percentage of four-year olds relative to percentage of families below three thousand dollars was high (forty per cent versus 27.2 per cent).

Staff Recruitment

Guidelines

Directives concerning Head Start staff recruitment stress

1. The interdisciplinary nature of services offered, i.e., educational, health, social services, psychological,
2. Program administration by professionals, supplemented with non-professionals.

Professionals might be hired as full or part-time employees, or on a consultant basis. Participation by the policy advisory committee was specified only in appointment of the staff director.

OEO did not require teacher certification in the absence of state or local regulations.

> Ideally, teachers . . . should be graduates of a four-year college who majored in Nursery Education, Nursery-Kindergarten Education, or Early Childhood Development. However, general background, experience with children, training in related fields, or all around ability may be adequate substitutes.[1]

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[1] An Invitation to Help Head Start Child Development Programs, Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action Program (Washington, D.C., n.d.), p. 37.

CHART 8.--Staff Recruitment and Function, Four Sample Programs.

	UTICA	AMSTERDAM	
Director	Full-time administrator Also full-time asst. director	Full-time administrator	Ha
How hired	Personnel committee, UCA, Inc.	Professional school committee	Sc
Teachers	5 full-time; 7 half-time	1 full-time; 3 part-time	2-
Certification as teacher qualification	In ESEA component only	Yes	Ye
All benefits of school system	In ESEA component only	Yes	N
How teachers hired	By director & asst.	By professional school committee	By
Other professional staff	1 full-time nurse 1 part-time social worker 1 full-time social worker 3 part-time psychologists 1 full-time business manager	Social worker Psychologist (part) Nurse (Part)	Ps
Office Staff	3	Clerk=typist	1
Teacher aides	17 part-time	1 full-time 3 half-time	2
Other aides	1 nurse's aide 2 social work aides	2 cafeteria aides 1 kitchen aide	2 c 2
Family income below $5000 for aides	Most aides	Yes	N
Pre-service training	University orientation program for teachers and aides	University orientation program--2 teachers 1 aide	N
In-service training	Weekly staff conferences and case conferences	Monthly staff meetings; weekly case conferences	C &
Supportive service	Yes	Yes	Y

RED CREEK	NEWFIELD
Half-time administrator	Teacher-director
School principal	School principal
2-75% time	Teacher-director
Yes	Yes
No	No
By director	By school principal
Psychologist (Part)	Nurse (Part)
1 typist	None
2 half-time	1 half-time
2 "follow up" aides cook, asst. cook 2 chauffeurs	1 case aide cook (part time) 2 chauffeurs
No	Chauffeur
No	Teacher & 1 aide took part of university summer program
Conferences, informal & continuing	Informal
Yes	Yes

Hiring policy was designed to insure self-help and "maximum feasible participation of the poor," through employment of parents and others from the "target" population. Teacher, medical and social work aides, cooks, clerks, and custodians were among positions suggested to be filled by non-professionals. Persons so selected would serve as a communications channel between neighborhood and program, and would receive opportunity for training, employment, and education in child care. Volunteer service in all fields was to be solicited, to help achieve the goal of total community involvement in the poverty war.

Every Head Start project was to be responsible for "creative and flexible" pre-service orientation and in-service training of its entire staff. Teachers and social workers were expected to train and supervise non-professionals and volunteers, as well as to work with families and children. Arrangements were also to be made for staff participation in OEO-sponsored formal training programs.

Rural-Urban Factors

All programs were interdisciplinary, but the range of supportive service was more extensive in the urban areas. Utica was unique among the four in hiring a full-time nurse and three part-time psychologists. Professional social workers were not available at the Red Creek and Newfield projects during 1966-1967. Red Creek's "parent coordinators" performed some social service functions, and its psychologist spent one day a week in class with the children. School district sponsors made use of doctors, nurses, and dental hygienists already in Board of Education employ. Interim payments for medical examinations, pending phase-out due to Medicaid, were available for all programs except Utica's. Medicaid placed Utica's health staff in the unaccustomed role of policemen seeking means of prodding the approximately fifty per cent of parents who failed to return the required forms from family-chosen doctors.

The administrative scope of Utica's program was predictably greater than any of the others. A director and assistant director functioned there on a full-time basis. (See Chart 8). Amsterdam's project was also headed by a full-time administrator. At the beginning of the school year one coordinator had directed both Head Start and Early Start in Amsterdam, but individual directors were later selected for each program. A single teacher-director was placed in charge of Newfield's twenty children, while a part-time administrator and two part-time teachers worked in Red Creek.

Professional staff hiring by other professionals was everywhere the rule, with policy advisory committees granting automatic approval. The school principal at both rural school districts personally selected the Head Start directors. Applicants for coordinator of the Amsterdam project had been interviewed by a school personnel committee. Further illustration of the close relationship between the community action and Head Start programs in Utica was the designation of a UCA subcommittee to recruit personnel for the pre-school effort. Once appointed, the directors of all programs were given primary responsibility for further hiring. In Amsterdam the director sat in on the committee interviewing potential Head Start teachers. Utica's director and assistant director screened teaching applicants for both the ESEA and OEO components.

Certification, or "working toward certification" as a qualification for teaching accompanied school district sponsorship. This requirement was waived only in the OEO-funded component of the Utica project. Administrators found no difference in teaching performance between those employed in the two components. ESEA but not OEO-paid teachers were treated as part of the school system in terms of seniority, fringe benefits, etc., leading to some dissatisfaction on the part of those in the OEO sector. Amsterdam's teachers, as opposed to those in the rural school districts, were accorded the same status as other faculty.

How to calculate teacher salaries was partially a rural-urban problem. Red Creek teachers were paid for "75 per cent time" (50 per cent class, 25 per cent home visits). Newfield's teacher-directorship was a full-time position. Both "full" and "half-time" teachers worked in the cities, their salaries dependent on hours spent in class.

When ESEA classes were added to the Utica program, a full-time business manager was hired. Requirements that two separate accounting systems be kept there for the OEO and

Office of Education complicated duties of record keeping. Utica's allowance for office staff rendered it the sole community among the four to maintain detailed records of pupils' race, income, etc., to publish a handbook, a monthly newsletter, and minutes of committee meetings.

"Maximum feasible participation of the poor" through non-professional job opportunities was better realized in the urban than rural areas. A fair representation of aides recruited from parents of children currently enrolled was achieved only in Utica (about one-third), where parents also worked as volunteers on a regular basis. At Red Creek aides and other non-professionals were "past" parents or grandparents of Head Start pupils. Reported family incomes of non-professional workers were generally higher for the rural than urban programs.

Other Factors

Through lack of communication, teachers and aides at Red Creek missed out on the Syracuse University orientation program that had been offered the prior summer, but they participated actively in state and region-wide conferences during the year. Newfield's teacher-director and one aide took a portion of a summer orientation course. Some of Amsterdam's staff and most of Utica's teachers and aides had attended the Syracuse University orientation. Utica sponsored continuing local workshops throughout the school year.

Parent Involvement

Guidelines

Involving the poor was to be spurred by policy advisory committees appointed by each community action agency and its delegates. Those serving the latter could be "more informal in structure." "Because parents have a right as well as an obligation to participate in making decisions that affect their children, OEO requires that fifty per cent of the . . . policy advisory committee be made up of parents or target area residents if possible."[1] Others on the committee were to represent public and private agencies and "individuals experienced in dealing with parents and children." The committee was expected, among other duties, to review the application, participate in selection of the director, hear complaints, serve as a link between parents, community, and program.

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[1] Instructions, p. 15.

CHART 9.--Parent Involvement, Four Sample Programs.

	UTICA	AMSTERDAM	
Policy advisory body	Parents and committee representatives on subcommittee of UCA, Inc.	Parents and committee representatives on HS Committee	Ev pa
Vital functions of policy body	Help write proposal. Make administrative decisions.	Laison between group and staff	Be in
Parent education programs	Monthly programs at center level. Some day time coffee, lunch	Parents attend regular school PTA's	Mo Mo fo
Other parent involvement	Field trips, parties	Field trips, picnics, parties	Fi pi
Parent participation in staff selection	Volunteer as aides	No	Su
Visited at home by:	Teachers, aides, social workers	Social worker one by teacher	Pa te

RED CREEK	NEWFIELD
Evolved into chiefly parent committee	Designation of "all parents" as committee.
Becoming interested in policy	None
Monthly meetings. Morning coffee for mothers	Monthly meetings sponsored by Coop. Extension.
Field trips, picnics, parties	Field trips, picnics, parties
Suggest aides	No
Parent coordinators teachers	Teacher-director

OEO policy called for employment of parents as non-professionals and volunteers wherever possible. Special programs planned for parents should provide information on matters such as nutrition and consumer education, availability of community service in the employment and other fields. A "coordinator of parent involvement" was to be designated, her position paid or volunteer according to the size of the project.

Teachers were expected to spend at least five hours per week working with parents, both in the center and through home visits. These activities were to be coordinated with parallel activities on the part of the social services staff.

Rural-Urban Factors

Drastic differences in the role of the Head Start committee as a truly "policy" advisory body were noted among the communities. In Newfield "all parents" were declared to be members of the committee, but there is no evidence that they ever met per se except when a relatively small percentage of parents responded to invitations to attend PTA-type meetings called by the county Cooperative Extension

Service. Amsterdam's policy board was chiefly a public relations group, meeting irregularly and receiving official information more or less passively. The body designated for purposes of Red Creek's proposal was similarly inactive. Towards the middle of the school year, however, five sets of parents who had been attracted by the Red Creek monthly parent education meetings expressed interest in serving as a Head Start committee. They were stimulated to discussion of the following year's proposal, to giving thought to further activities, and to volunteering for assistance at meetings and field trips. (See Chart 9.)

Utica's Head Start committee, a subcommittee of UCA, Inc., met monthly and was the only one of the groups studied to keep regular minutes. Its members, especially its businessmen chairmen, appeared to have been unusually active in civic and Head Start affairs. Most parent designates, however, had poor attendance records. Perhaps they were overwhelmed by the committee's "community representatives" and their level of discussion, perhaps they were "overinvolved" in other activities.

Amsterdam was the only community at which regular parent education meetings were not held. Mothers and fathers were encouraged to attend the PTA's of the school serving as Head Start centers. They did seem to be active at East Main.

Teachers were required to make at least one home visit to each Head Start family in all the communities. Amsterdam's social worker was responsible for most other home contacts, while social workers and aides paid special attention to Utica's families in need of service. Lack of coordination between Utica's teachers and social workers led to some duplication and overlap in home visits. Because similar questions were asked by both types of visitor, parents frequently became confused in differentiating their roles. Procedures later adopted in Utica found social workers soliciting from families initial data that were essentially sociological in nature. Although social workers had visited homes on referral from teachers, this sequence was reversed the following year.

"Follow-up" aides or parent coordinators called on

Red Creek families. Newfield's teacher-director was responsible for home visits. A CAA-hired social worker, to be shared the next year by Newfield and Ithaca, was a suggestion for "improving program performance" in those towns.

Field trips gained parental participation in all programs. Other types of day-time activity were planned, chiefly at various Utica centers, and Red Creek. At the latter village, morning coffee hours were scheduled for Head Start mothers, transportation furnished by regular school buses, baby sitting volunteered by girls of the Future Homemakers of America. Large attendance at end of year picnics in the rural districts attested to their popularity.

Utica afforded the one "laboratory" of a multi-centered program at work. Equal effort to achieve parental involvement resulted in differential response. In part, the personality, organizing ability, and aggressiveness of the individual teacher was believed significant. Gillmore Village's teacher possessed these characteristics. She had taught the prior year at Potter School, where parental interest was difficult to stimulate. Even at mostly Negro Potter, this white teacher had managed to attract more family representatives to the classroom and to meetings than was to be the case the following year.

The nature of the parents themselves, however, must be taken into account. The social worker serving the Potter neighborhood did not believe respondents had been candid in giving data about family status. At the time of the initial recruitment visit, a large number of mothers were acknowledged to be working. What was not so generally admitted was that many mothers were not present in the home at all. Almost all pupils at Potter were brought to school by older children. Future surveys are contemplated to determine the proportion of children being raised by relatives or other "substitute" parents.

Follow-Through

Guidelines

Reference was made in Head Start manuals to the importance of follow-through plans designed to preserve pre-school project gains. It was expected that kindergarten and grade-level activities incorporated into the normal school

CHART 10.--Follow-Through, Four Sample Programs

	Utica	Amsterdam	Red Creek	Newfield
Childrens' records sent ahead to kindergarten	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not systematic
Other follow-up	Project Able	Project Able	"Follow-up" aides Pre-first	No

program, conducted during regular school hours, would be financed by ESEA appropriations. OEO funds were available for remedial and non-curricular activities run after regular school hours or on weekends. The follow-through program delegated to the Office of Education by OEO was not yet operational during 1966-1967.

"Follow-through is more than just handing over the records to the school. It means more work in teaching the children, in arranging for continuing medical and dental care, seeing to it that needed social and psychological services are provided, that proper nutrition levels are maintained and that parents are also given more help and information."[1] Referral to community social or mental health agencies might be necessary. Continuing courses for parents were suggested.

Rural-Urban Factors

Follow-through in the form of special classes existed in the urban but not rural areas, chiefly because of the availability of ESEA funds and the state-sponsored Project Able. The latter consisted of an enriched kindergarten curriculum, remedial reading and language training at the elementary level, plus work with parents. A pre-first class for children with special problems was planned for Red Creek in the fall of 1967, and the Head Start psychologist there recommended that some of the pre-schoolers be placed in pre-first on the basis of his observation and testing.

Children's records were sent ahead to kindergarten in all areas except Newfield. This deficiency was an administrative matter, calling for standardized record keeping and designated forwarding procedures. At rural Red Creek

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[1] An Invitation to Help Head Start, p. 27.

"follow-up" aides continued to visit families even after the children were enrolled in kindergarten.

Community facilities for social and psychological service, while more extensive in Utica than in the other areas, were severely over-crowded relative to need. Action on referrals made to local agencies was subject to delay. "Stop gap" attention by Head Start supportive staff became necessary.

Other Factors

The Syracuse University Research and Evaluation Center administered the Stanford-Binet and Caldwell-Soule tests to pupils in the four projects at the beginning and end of the school year. An evaluation of pupils currently enrolled in kindergarten who had also been in the pre-school programs was commenced at Amsterdam in 1967-1968.

Because early segregation of children with emotional difficulties was deemed unwise by a state technical advisor, no action was taken on Utica psychologists' request to institute special classes for Head Start pupils and graduates with severe personal management problems.

Conclusions

Aims

Significant literature and social experiments relevant to Head Start were reviewed in Chapter II. Head Start was placed in the context of the community action program. Its primary objectives were shown centering about institution of a comprehensive pre-school child development program that would benefit disadvantaged youngsters, parents, and community by involving all of them in a coordinated self-help effort to intervene in the poverty cycle.

The survey of guidelines in the prior section has emphasized: a) Head Start's interdisciplinary approach covering the fields of health, social welfare, nutrition, and psychology, as well as education; b) the concept of each center as a "true community facility," serving and involving children, parents, and neighborhood; c) "Maximum feasible participation of the poor" through employment in sub-professional jobs and by opportunities to share in decision-making.

Demographic, Socio-Economic and Political Variables

Demographic, socio-economic and political variables that affect Project administration in communities characterized by differing degrees of urbanization:

a) Perhaps the most dramatic population factor affecting Head Start Administration in the urban areas arose from the racial composition of pupil inputs. Non-white children are inevitably over-represented in the poverty neighborhoods of core cities. Thus, Negroes in 1960 made up thirty-five per cent of Utica's Inner City population, compared to 3.1 per cent in the municipality as a whole. Poverty indices compiled for the four areas (p. 21) disclosed that Utica administrators were confronted, at least in Inner City with the greatest extremes of socio-economic deprivation and family dislocation.

More than one-third of Utica's Head Starters were Negro, whereas only one non-white child could be counted among those at all the other programs. Amsterdam's East Main Street school was located in a section where an estimated one hundred recently arrived Spanish-American families had introduced a new culture and language. Twelve of the thirty Head Start pupils at East Main were Spanish speaking. Other "ethnic" groups in both urban areas were largely of Italian and Polish origin, indicating large Catholic populations there.

b) Settlement patterns among the urban and rural poor covered in this study appeared to differ. Among poverty families surveyed by the Wayne County Action Program, two-thirds had been living in the county nine years or more, only half had changed residence in the five-year period from 1962 to 1967. Urban renewal in inner East and West Utica, however, meant families, many of them Negro, would be "on the move." The "move" was eastward and southward, with subsequent demand for facilities in the newly tenanted neighborhoods.

c) Most significant among political factors influencing administration in the rural areas was the unique American method of organizing local governmental units by superimposing one overlapping layer upon another. Boundaries for the two rural school districts studied were drawn without regard to other town and county jurisdictions. Population densities in the large geographical areas thus encompassed were very low. Transportation was arranged through buses that individually covered up to a twenty-mile run.

District lines for the Newfield school coincided far more closely with the town of Newfield than did those delineating Red Creek. But Newfield citizens were not more articulate about their pre-school project. On the contrary, an exchange of "letters to the editor" in the local Red Creek newspaper criticizing and defending the Head Start concept demonstrated lively interest despite the district's geographic oddities.

Closer identification with the program was bound to be felt by Red Creek villagers, where the center was located, than by residents of the nearby resort town of Fair Haven, included in the same district but with its own elementary school. Property owners throughout the area, however, displayed intense concern with their roles as school taxpayers, evidenced by their large turnout to reject centralization with Wolcott and North Rose. School budget proposals required approval of the elected Board of Education, also ultimately responsible for Head Start.

The anomalies involved in existence of a number of local government jurisdictions with differing scope affect the relationship between Head Start and community action agencies. In the larger N.Y. State urban areas, school district, local government, and CAA boundaries are more likely to be synonomous than in the rural areas. Thus, Utica Head Start came into being as part of a city-wide community action agency. Both rural school districts had originated summer Head Start programs in 1965 as single-purpose agencies, but were later required to channel their 1966-1967 proposals through newly formed county-based CAA's. Red Creek became answerable to the Wayne County CAP even though most of the school district was located in Cayuga County. Amsterdam was made subject to a "Fulmont Facility" embracing two counties with a history of rivalry.

Urban-Rural Factors in Local Program Inputs and Outputs

INPUTS:

a) As stated, pupil, and therefore staff and parent inputs, were far more heterogeneous racially and ethnically in the city than rural districts. Although at least one Negro child attended sixteen of seventeen Utica Head Start classes, much de facto segregation remained. Potter School and the neighboring Cosmopolitan Center were almost totally Negro. Large non-white representations were also noted at three other centers. Almost all of Amsterdam's Spanish speaking pupils attended one school, and their "desegregation" was never contemplated.

b) Among pupils, Utica psychologists' request that special classes be set up for children with "severe personal management problems" suggested that more "hard core" disorders were uncovered in that city than in the other areas. None of Newfield's twenty children was judged by the teacher to be a "problem." Red Creek's school psychologist found that about one-third of those he observed in Head Start displayed emotional or maturational difficulties sufficient for him to recommend placement in pre-first or, in a few instances, to repeat Head Start. He did not go as far as Utica psychologists in expressing the belief that the children might be "unable to cope" with kindergarten.

c) Staff: Amsterdam's Head Start social worker spoke Spanish, and positive steps were taken to hire a Spanish speaking aide for the coming semester. Utica administrators put forth special effort to recruit staff members of the Negro race. Its Head Start assistant director, nurse, social worker, social work aide, and four teacher aides were non-white.

More pupils in the urban areas meant more staff. The cities were able to call upon many recruitment resources, established through their school and governmental systems, and community action agency. Reported statements of family income indicate that the cities were more successful than the two rural school districts in hiring "target area" persons for non-professional positions.

Both Utica and Amsterdam advertised for teachers in other cities. The school principals who selected the Head Start directors in the rural areas found their choices restricted. A certain arbitrariness governed the decisions of all administrators forced to seek personnel in a field where shortages abound, where the vicissitudes of legislation and funding render Head Start career opportunities uncertain. Such limitations were especially obvious in the rural areas.

d) Parents: Utica was the one area where a sustained effort had been made to involve parents on the policy advisory committee even before the proposal was submitted. But even there, parents' attendance at committee meetings was sporadic. Decisions were left in the hands of its "community representatives." Education and social class distinction between "target area" and other representatives still served to hinder rapport. Suspicions caused by racial difference, sociological factors such as working mothers and "substitute" parents invalidated traditional concepts of "participation" in the poorest neighborhoods.

OUTPUTS:

e) All classroom programs were similar in that they emphasized "established" nursery school practice, i.e., group play, story time, use of toys and equipment, etc. "Academically oriented" or "pressure cooker" approaches to pre-school education were nowhere attempted.

f) Assessing outputs in analytical terms involves a determination of whether the program fulfilled its goal of spurring institutional change. Direct cause and effect relationship between Head Start and school reform in New York is difficult to trace, because the state operates one of the most progressive educational systems in the nation. A profusion of state-aided "programs for the disadvantaged" blossomed in the late 1950's and 1960's even before concern for the deprived had been expressed in federal legislation. Head Start was a catalyst for these programs nationally. Its influence on particular local systems was more subtle. Availability of state and local funds, particularly in poverty neighborhoods of urban areas, meant that attention would be focused simultaneously on the disadvantaged of many age levels. Amsterdam officials displayed most energy in availing themselves of many state programs, among them STEP, Talent Search, and Project Able, a multi-faceted remedial school project.

Head Start, to the extent that it was a tool of social reform in the communities studied, was confronted with the same "dilemma" cited by Marris and Rein. Community action, as they interpreted its history, was executed by project directors wrestling with two divergent concepts of their task. Ford Foundation administrators had perceived their role, for the most part, as one of stimulating invention, liberating ideas, breaking out of established administrative patterns that were no longer relevant. But members of the Presidents' Committee, in the authors' view, were more concerned to incorporate innovations into "a new balance of community leadership and responsibility."[1] The two objectives frequently became confused even within the same project. Unwillingly and somewhat unwittingly, the reformers discovered themselves emerging as "directors" rather than "facilitators" of social change, "involuntary arbitrators of the communities' best interests." If a new accomodation were achieved, how long should it or would it remain stable before recurring competition of interests, clashing of sometimes irreconcilable claims set in motion again the same unsettling processes?

As Utica Community Action, Inc. officials defined their position originally, they were to act as "catalysts," but in fact they were also "directors" of change. They had established a Head Start agency for the full-year programs within the administrative framework of the CAA, autonomous from the school system. The Board of Education was encouraged to secure ESEA funds in January 1967 for expanding what remained essentially a CAA project. Having initiated the "pilot" projects, UCA then announced that it wished to turn over administration to the "agency charged with the basic task," in this instance the Board of Education. Fears are now being expressed, however, that school officials might have higher priorities for limited personnel and funds than to assign them to the individualized services Head Start demands. A question to be resolved is whether the school system, if and when the new institutional balance were achieved, would be as dedicated to the full principles of the anti-poverty program as is the present agency. Utica's Head Start Committee is reevaluating the whole matter.

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[1] Marris and Rein, p. 227.

Kinds of Administrative Problems Unique to Rural and Urban Settings

a) As the size and complexity of programs increase with the size and population density of urban areas, classic administrative problems arise, associated with span of control and general manageability. Reference has been repeatedly made to the necessity for greater structure in all phases of the relatively complex Utica undertaking. Dehumanization is ever the lament accompanying increased bureaucratization. Organizations become more formal, communications less intimate. Growth occurs in the network of written rules and procedures. Thus, teachers in Utica complained of limited access to the director, expressed their wish to be able to converse with her while working at their centers. They criticized "packaged" workshops as training aides, opted for less rigid agenda, freer discussion, fewer reports and forms. Such difficulties were obviously not encountered at the Newfield program, headed by a teacher-director, or at Red Creek, where the director maintained her office in a "cubby-hole" behind the classroom.

b) But if greater size multiplied risks of bureaucracy, it also brought to urban areas a variety of resources that did not exist in the sprawling school districts. Oscar Lewis' observation was validated, that the variety of services and "other aspects of living" is one of the most distinctive city features. A "team" of Utica psychologists, social and health workers rendered auxiliary service. Its community supportive facilities, however, were overtaxed relative to needs that multiplied with population density.

Just as children at Red Creek and Newfield traveled to school on buses making twenty-mile runs, so their parents were forced to transport them even greater distances to find doctors, dentists, social welfare departments, more material staples such as furniture and automobiles. Professionalized social service was deficient in the rural communities. Utica's nurse and aide, trying to supervise parents in responsibility for securing examinations for their children under Medicaid, gained experience with an issue that would later become more urgent in the rural areas. There, distance from local doctors in short supply would add to other limitations in gaining parental cooperation, such as lack of time and apathetic response.

The racial composition of classrooms was far more likely to be "mixed" in a core city of upstate New York than in a rural area. This situation gave rise to questions of how to integrate pupils and staff, how to effectively involve parents to whom race appended one more factor to an overall pattern of alienation.

d) Administrative problems stemming from low population density and need for transportation are unique to rural areas. The one or two classrooms present a microcosm of the poverty population of the entire district. Intensifying the reluctance or inability of some parents to prepare their children for school may be the need to be on time for the Head Start bus. Most city children, of course, live within walking distance of the neighborhood center, experience no transportation difficulty if late on occasion.

Inhibiting factors of distance and rural isolation work against parent participation, particularly in winter. Agents of the Tompkins County Cooperative Extension Service could not spark much adult enthusiasm for any event except a picnic. Turnout at meetings was restricted, however, even at easily accessible urban centers.

e) Insofar as school systems may be Head Start sponsors in the rural districts (they were typically delegates for the full year 1966-1967 programs in small upstate New York communities), the pre-school project reflects whatever advantages and inflexibilities inhere in that type of organization. School sponsorship confers obvious benefits. The superintendent or his staff have knowledge of teachers in the locality. The district bus garage proved a ready source of required transportation in both Newfield and Red Creek. School support is no guarantee of educational facilities' use, however. In the two rural communities, burgeoning classrooms left little alternative except to rent space--from local churches in both cases. Nor is district sponsorship a guarantee that Head Start teachers will be integrated into the regular school system. They were in Amsterdam, and in the ESEA component at Utica, but not in the two other districts. Some friction on this count between OEO and ESEA-funded employees did arise in Utica.

School systems, as noted, may also resist meeting all the demands of the anti-poverty program. A letter from a Deputy Staff Director of Project Head Start states:

> At this time we find, generally speaking, there is greater parent participation in those programs that are operated by delegate agencies other than public school systems. The Cleveland experience shows, however, that this is due to a lack of commitment to the principle of parent involvement rather than an inability of school systems to allow it.[1]

"The Newfield Nursery School," as Head Start was designated in that district's annual report, seemed an attempt to underplay the poverty aspects that are the project's rationale. Red Creek's program, granted much autonomy within its school district sponsorship, was dependent upon the energy and creativity of its particular director.

f) Local initiative means that that best motivated single or multi-purpose agencies take the lead in soliciting special program funds. Regional and state offices, seeking to channel limited resources to those most in need, may well founder on the rock of local resistance. The concept of self-help through community action does not insure that the most cooperative agencies will necessarily be those serving the region's very poorest clientele.

g) In both rural and urban areas, the crucial question arises of the kind of controls to enforce compliance. School districts in this study that administered Head Start were caught up in a maze of control mechanisms, somewhat as follows:

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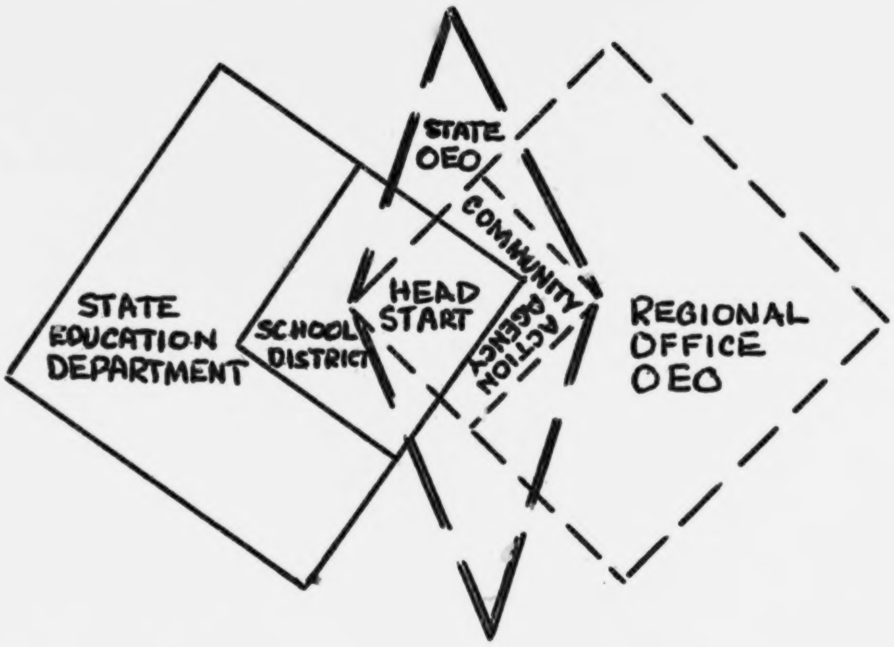
[1] Letter from William F. Benoit, Deputy Staff Director, Project Head Start, to Sandra K. Felt, December 16, 1966, in Sandra K. Felt, "A Framework for Understanding 'Parent Participation' in Project Head Start" (Unpublished Master of Social Work thesis, Syracuse University, June, 1967), p. 30.


STATE OEO
COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY
HEAD START
SCHOOL DISTRICT
STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
REGIONAL OFFICE OEO

The Community Action Agency's boundaries have been defined within a dotted line because of its differing jurisdiction from one community to another. Field representatives of the State OEO have also had varying impact on the Head Start projects, sometimes extending beyond their assigned role of "technical assistance" to functions ordinarily performed by the regional office.

Procedures Deemed Most Effective in Handling Administrative Problems

a) Issues associated with bureaucratic rigidity are being tackled this year in Utica in several ways. A teachers' meeting is held once a month at which "healthy controversy" is encouraged, group leadership techniques employed. The director has made an effort to subordinate housekeeping demands to freer contacts with teachers and aides at the center level. Parent committees have been organized at the centers to serve as a communications channel. Bureaucracy is countered most effectively by such steps to increase "participatory democracy."

To fulfill new OEO requirements that children spend a minimum of fifteen hours per week in actual class session, the four-day week will be eliminated in Utica after April 1968. Formal training sessions, previously held at this time, will need rescheduling. Further complaint will surely be forthcoming from teachers who find difficulty even at present in meeting clerical and home visit obligations during Fridays. Loss of fifth day "free time" is viewed as questionable procedure for complex urban programs.

b) Where resources are inadequate on a local scale, they can be augmented by sharing with other communities. Tompkins County EOC's employment of a social worker to divide her services between the Newfield and Ithaca Head Start projects demonstrates this type of cooperation. More intensive use should also be made of specialists from regional training centers and State technical assistance offices.

c) Problems of ethnicity and race, created in the urban areas, were not easily soluble. A good Negro representation on Utica's professional and non-professional staff was a healthy sign, as was Amsterdam's hiring of a Spanish speaking social worker and teacher aide. Amsterdam sponsorship of an adult English language class was also of help to the newly arrived immigrants.

Utica teachers had been instructed to consider racial balance as one pupil recruitment criterion, but de facto segregation persisted. Busing to effect integration had been tried only in the case of the otherwise all-white Humphrey Gardens, to which seven children were transported from the transitional Cornhill neighborhood. More extensive busing, even closer attention to racial population when locating Head Start centers and hiring personnel, and better allocation of pupils among centers are suggested devices to further integration.

Older ethnic groups in the urban areas, chiefly of Italian and Polish origin, posed no special problems. Their religion, of course, was Catholic. One parochial school in Utica served as a Head Start center. Red Creek's Catholic Church housed the program there. In both instances space and not religion dictated the choice. Yet through use of the space, major religious groups were brought into greater intimacy with the projects.

d) Buses of the regular school system furnished a good means of transportation for children in the rural districts. Mothers attending coffee hours at Red Creek were able to board the same buses with their children.

Transportation necessities should be weighed against factors that were probably more crucial in holding down parental attendance at evening meetings. Despite low income status, the large majority of persons in the rural areas possessed private autos. As the Wayne County CAP survey found, poverty families' membership in formal organizations was generally low. (But the few who do indicate interest may be pounced upon by eager leaders and become "over-involved," especially in the urban areas.)

A creative approach to parent involvement must reject prime reliance upon "meetings," whether in rural or urban areas. Only a minority of active members attend most organization functions, at whatever class level. Community events compete with movies, ball games, television, and with each other.

Motivating the parents called for more sympathetic understanding of their life situations, greater reliance on matters that were expressed as of import to them. Unequal response to similar efforts made to "pull" parents into activities at different Utica centers was attributed in part to the socio-economic background of the mothers and fathers themselves. Many of the mothers of pupils at Potter school were working. An as yet indeterminate but significant number were not living with their own children, who were being raised by "substitute" parents.

One teacher at a Utica housing project commented that this location stimulated continuing and informal contact with families. This year Utica instituted an interesting ten-week course for mothers dealing with parent-child relations, sessions scheduled both morning and evenings. Topics for the best attended get-togethers have been those suggested by the parents themselves.

Red Creek's director set out aggressively to exploit factors of rural isolation that she believed would work to render attractive the "social life" to be promoted at the Head Start center. Two "parent coordinators" were assigned to manage the weekly morning coffee hours and to arrange for baby sitters. Five sets of parents were encouraged to form a parent advisory committee after the middle of the school year.

Parties, picnics, and field trips were popular. They provided a link with mothers and fathers, even if tenuous, but could hardly build a firm foundation for joint partnership in promoting child and community welfare. Parents who sit on committees with articulate "civic" representatives know it is not they who truly "make things happen," and quite properly lose interest. Steps taken at Red Creek were designed to give weight to the parent group's decisions. Amendment of Utica by-laws aimed at furthering Head Start committee self-government, and granting more leeway for initiative on the part of all members. Whether in rural or urban areas it is such genuine exercise of power, the performance of meaningful function, that constitutes the greatest educative force.

e) School system versus CAA sponsorship is a subject for much pro and con. School districts that sponsor special programs, it is true, themselves experience whatever "education" comes from their administration. Incorporation of Head Start into the school system would presumably stimulate other curriculum revision, and help mold the total school into a more effective social instrument.

Amsterdam afforded an example of professional educators somewhat resistant to permitting parents a major role in decision-making. Yet for all the bitterness expressed by

Amsterdam school administrators towards OEO Regional Office demands, they did participate in the broadest range of state and federally aided special projects of any of the districts under investigation. Amsterdam was the only community at which comprehensive program evaluation was undertaken. There was indication in this study that educators who were aware of and interested enough in Head Start to propose sponsorship, carried over this same initiative into applying for other programs to aid the disadvantaged.

Integrating pre-school teachers into the regular faculty aids career planning. Obvious vocational benefits are felt to out-weigh the major plus of separate Head Start personnel management, enlisting non-certified but otherwise qualified persons into the teaching staff. Administrators testify that rapport with children and parents is indeed well established in many instances by lay persons acting as aides. Unpaid committee members, professionals donating service, and paid employees devoting many unpaid hours to extra tasks, have demonstrated remarkable dedication in most of the programs surveyed. A good system should continue to exploit their talents. Yet teaching, psychology, administration are functions that demand expertise. Doubtful career possibilities will not attract able people for long. Schools faced with shortages of personnel are coming to exhibit some flexibility in demands for "certification" that can be reconciled with Head Start requirements.

In other parts of the school systems investigated, evidence was uncovered of the innovations Head Start made popular; use of teacher and other aides, special projects geared to the disadvantaged, efforts to involve parents more closely when reviewing programs. None of these devices need conflict with an acceptable plan to manage professional personnel by providing incentives for permanent careers.

f) Allocation of funds to rural and urban communities in greatest need demands improved research and missionary work on the part of regional offices and state technical assistance agencies. Rules that "freeze" payments at arbitrary levels and other similarly inflexible provisions are to be avoided. Personal, continuing contacts should be made with responsible leaders in areas where poverty is most dire.

g) Securing compliance with central office regulations is a delicate process. The individual administrator operates, in the words of R.L. Warren, on two systems levels--that of the inclusive system and his own subsystem. Effective performance is brought about through convergence of goals at both levels.

Warren employs the hackneyed "carrot" and "stick" analogies for methods of spurring task accomplishment. Carrot proferrers will not promulgate rules and procedures that strain compliance. ". . .avoid pushing unwilling agencies through closed doors . . ." Inclusive-level goals are to be developed with a realistic eye to the commitments, survival needs, and constituency relationships of individual enterprises.[1] (Subsystem administrators encountered in this study, particularly in the urban areas, wondered if the "poverty line" was determined at the inclusive level with a wholly "realistic eye" to their problems.)

Holding or withholding funds is the only real "stick" the OEO can brandish. School systems, and almost all other agencies that act as Head Start delegates, however, are not dependent on Head Start money for survival. Most have existed on the basis of other functions, with the pre-school project merely one phase of their activities. They will continue to survive even without the additional funds that enable them to live better, it is true, but hardly make the difference between life and death. The goals of school systems as educators, and of OEO representatives as "community developers," may be, if not in conflict, at least divergent. To the extent that alternative sources of financing are available with less rigorous prerequisities (i.e., ESEA and Early Start), regional office controls are enfeebled. Indeed, a case can be made that central office survival is more dependent on acquiescence from local delegates than vice versa.

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[1] Roland L. Warren, "Concerted Decision-Making in the Community," in The Social Welfare Forum, 1965, pp. 128-132.

Agency subsystems may themselves be linked to other inclusive systems that frequently overlap. Head Start, as the diagram on p. 250 illustrates, may be enmeshed in a jumble of external controls at the local level. Incentive to carry out programmatic goals derives more from the intrinsic motivation of the individual administrator, from the "carrots" extended to him. He accepts the aims of the over-all system because they further his own. The commitment is essentially ideological. There is evidence in this study that ideological commitment was contagious in Utica, where a firmly rooted CAA kept alive the general philosophy of community action.

Where a community action agency falters or falls, of course, Head Start may well be among programs that suffer with it. Unlike some others, Utica Community Action, Inc. never attempted highly controversial activity that would cause concern to politicians or citizenry. Created originally as a city office, it continued to be cordially received by press and public even when later reorganized as a private non-profit corporation. Its chairman and Head Start Committee chairman, men of professional reputation, were also astute politically. Other CAA's, as in Tompkins County, had difficulty getting off the ground, were plagued by organizational problems. In three of the instances surveyed, officials of established school systems reacted negatively when required to subordinate some of their authority to CAA's that were comparative fly-by-nights.

The administrative environment of a medium-sized city such as Utica, still large enough to support a stable multi-purpose community action agency of which Head Start was an integral part, appeared to offer optimum conditions for realizing coordinated aims of the anti-poverty program. In smaller cities and rural areas, where Head Start is unavoidably remote from the CAA, the personal commitment and ability of key personnel becomes crucial in reaching programmatic goals. A first order of business for regional and central offices, then, is to attract and keep such rare persons.

Throughout this paper, the major goals of Head Start have been accepted as given. Setting of income standards is the one requirement that is questionable. Rural-urban differentials based on whether "farm" or "non-farm" are meaningless in areas similar to Red Creek and Newfield, where farming no longer sustains the population. In cities, families on welfare, automatically eligible, may end up with higher incomes than ineligible families not on welfare. Administrators balk at strict enforcement of eligibility standards, rationalize exceptions. ESEA money, available for poverty "pockets" without demanding individual family affidavits, would seem to be distributed on a more realistic basis. If the present trend continues, and pre-school education is accepted as desirable for every child, then all "proof" of disadvantage will happily become unnecessary.

APPENDIX A--INTERVIEW GUIDE

Administrative Organization

Through what means did you learn of the Head Start program?

1) Publicity in newspapers, other communication media.
2) Specialized government publications.
3) Personal contact with Office of Economic Opportunity representatives.
4) Other.

What are the manifestations of poverty in your community?

1) This is a rural community with many poor farm families.
2) This is a generally depressed area, with declining population.
3) This is an urban area, with slum neighborhoods.

What persons were most responsible for initiating Head Start in your community?

1) A citizens' committee took the lead.
2) Local governmental officials were most instrumental.
3) Educational specialists were most influential.
4) Officials of social agencies were most active.
5) Other.

How was application made for your Head Start program?

1) Channeled through local Community Action Agency.
2) Officials of the school district made the application.
3) The Head Start Child Development Center applied as a single purpose group.
4) Other.

Why was the Office of Economic Opportunity program chosen?

1) Did not know of other means of financing pre-school programs.
2) Preferred philosophy of OEO Head Start program.
3) Preferred to deal directly with federal agency rather than with State Education Department.
4) Other.

What other community agencies are directly involved in the Head Start program?

1) City or County Department of Health.
2) City or County Department of Welfare.
3) City or County Department of Education.
4) Local medical, dental, nursing societies.
5) Private social agencies.
6) Neighborhood Youth Corps.
7) Vista volunteers.
8) Other.

What is the relationship between the Director of the Head Start Program and the local Community Action Agency?

1) No Community Action Agency exists.
2) The Director of the Head Start Program is hired by and is directly responsible to the Director of the Community Action Agency.
3) The Director of the Head Start Program has an autonomous role with respect to the Community Action Agency.

Pupil Recruitment

What means were used to publicize the Head Start program?

1) Printed flyers or notices distributed to homes.
2) Announcements in newspapers and other local media.
3) Visits to potential pupils' homes.
4) Personal contact through representatives of neighborhood boards.
5) Activity of community organizations.

What types of community organizations were most effective in soliciting pupil participation in the Head Start program?

1) Groups like Home Bureau, Farm Bureau, Extension Service.
2) Service clubs.

3) Groups associated with local Community Action Agency.
4) Parent-teacher organizations.
5) Professional teachers' groups.

What type of records are kept on file for each enrolled pupil?

1) Medical history.
2) A social worker's written report.
3) Psychometric data.
4) Records on occupation, income, background of family.
5) Other.

What person is responsible for taking a school census in your district?

1) State professional employees.
2) The school nurse.
3) A school social worker.
4) Other.

What factors rank highest in pupil placement at specific centers?

1) That it be a school the child is likely to attend next year.
2) Racial balance.
3) That the child be exposed to teachers he is likely to meet in the future.
4) Other.

What is the procedure through which the child is enrolled in the Head Start Program?

1) Both parent and child visit the Head Start Center personally.
2) A parent must visit the Head Start Center personally.
3) Enrollment may be made via telephone.
4) A recruiter may enroll the child from his home.
5) Enrollment forms may be sent or mailed without personal participation.
6) Other.

Of the poor children eligible for Head Start in your community, what per cent would you estimate are actually participating in the program?

1) 90 - 100 per cent.
2) 70 - 90 per cent.
3) 50 - 70 per cent.
4) Less than 50 per cent.

What follow-through arrangements are made for Head Start pupils after they complete the program?

1) Records are sent ahead to kindergarten teachers.
2) The school participates in Project Able.
3) Other.

Staff

What methods were used to recruit teachers for the program?

1) Openings publicized through local media.
2) Openings publicized through professional publications and other professional media.
3) Applications solicited from regular school staff.
4) Preference in hiring was given to teachers experienced in the local school system.
5) Other.

What persons were most responsible for interviewing and hiring teaching staff?

1) Professional educators in the regular school system.
2) The Director of the Head Start Program.
3) Members of the Head Start Advisory Committee.
4) Other.

What methods were used to recruit teacher aides for the program?

1) Openings were publicized through local media.
2) Special effort was made to recruit parents for this purpose.

3) The Head Start Advisory Committee given primary responsibility.
4) Neighborhood centers were important in recruitment.
5) Other.

What persons were most responsible for interviewing and hiring teacher and other aides?

1) The director of the Head Start Program.
2) Members of the Head Start Advisory Committee.
3) Other.

Did potential staff members attend a University sponsored Head Start Orientation program?

1) Only teachers attended the program.
2) Only professional staff attended the program.
3) Aides attended the program.
4) Staff members did not attend such a program.
5) Other.

What kind of in-service training program is provided for staff members?

1) A staff orientation program held at the beginning of the school year.
2) Regularly scheduled meetings for teachers and other staff.
3) A regular time period set aside each day for staff conferences.
4) Other.

What kinds of items are on the agenda for staff meetings?

1) Matters of program planning.
2) Case conferences on individual pupils.
3) Communications from professional consultants.
4) Other.

What measures are taken to guard the confidentiality of information discussed at staff meetings?

1) Only authorized personnel may attend meetings.
2) There is limited access to files.
3) Other.

What kind of supervisory system exists for the program?

1) The system is organized vertically according to education, social welfare, medical, etc.
2) The system is organized horizontally according to Center.
3) Other.

How often are classrooms visited by supervisory personnel?

1) More than four times a month.
2) One to four times a month.
3) On an irregular basis as needed.
4) Other.

Parent Involvement

What was the composition of the Task Force set up to write your proposal?

1) Many parents of potential Head Start pupils served on it.
2) A few parents of potential Head Start pupils served on it.
3) No parents of potential Head Start pupils served on it.
4) The Task Force consisted chiefly of professional persons.
5) Non-professionals served on the Task Force, but they were not parents of potential pupils.

How often has your Advisory Council met during the time period in which Head Start has been in session?

1) Once a month.
2) Once a week.
3) More often than once a week.
4) Less often than once a month.

With what kind of matters is the Advisory Council concerned?

1) Making program suggestions.
2) Hiring and firing professional personnel.
3) Hiring and firing personnal other than professional.
4) Recruiting pupils for the program.
5) Making home visits.
6) Other.

What persons on the staff make home visits for the program?

1) The pupil's Head Start teacher.
2) A designated social worker.
3) The school nurse.
4) Aides.
5) Volunteers.

How often are visits made to homes of pupils enrolled in the program?

1) Once during the year.
2) Once a month.
3) More often than once a month.
4) On an irregular basis as needed.

What types of programs have been held for parents?

1) A parent orientation program at the beginning of the year.
2) A special food preparation program.
3) A special health program.
4) Regularly scheduled PTA-type meetings.
5) Other.

What vehicles of parent-staff contact are in operation?

1) Individual parent-teacher conferences scheduled at regular intervals.
2) Conferences scheduled on the initiative of parents.
3) Morning coffee or similar type hours for parents who accompany children to class.

What percentage of parents have observed a class in session?

1) More than 50 per cent.
2) Less than 50 per cent.

In what capacity do parents serve in the classroom?

1) On full-time staff.
2) On part-time staff.
3) As volunteers.
4) In carrying out tasks such as constructing simple toys or furniture.
5) Other.

On what basis are parents selected to serve on the staff?

1) If they meet specified qualifications.
2) If selected by Advisory Council.
3) If recommended by professional staff.
4) Other.

How many parents have accompanied children on field trips scheduled during the school year?

1) Most mothers.
2) A few mothers.
3) No mothers.
4) Most fathers.
5) A few fathers.
6) No fathers.

APPENDIX B--LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Utica

Mr. Martin Abelove, Chairman, Head Start Committee
Mr. Carmen F. Arcuri, Deputy Administrator, Utica Community Action, Inc.
Mrs. Gertrude Brown, Assistant Director, Project Head Start
Mrs. Jean DeVoy, Parent Program Coordinator, Project Head Start
Mrs. Betty Hsiao, Director, Project Head Start
Dr. Arthur Kaplan, Chairman, Utica Community Action, Inc.
Mr. Kenneth R. Mochel, Administrator, Utica Community Action, Inc.
Dr. Lawrence Read, Superintendent of Schools
Mrs. Sadie Roberts, Social Work Aide, Project Head Start
Mr. Francis E. Rodio, Office of Federal-State Relations, Utica Board of Education
Mrs. Rethell Worsham, Nurse, Project Head Start

Amsterdam

Dr. Reigh W. Carpenter, Superintendent of Schools
Mr. John J. Keane, Jr., Staff Director, Fulmont Development Facility
Mrs. Virginia Loomis, Coordinator, Project Head Start
Dr. William B. Tecler, Director Pupil Personnel Services, Amsterdam Public Schools
Mr. Philip Tolstad, Social Worker, Project Head Start

Newfield

Mr. Donald Hickman, Supervising Principal, Newfield Central School
Mrs. Carolyn Obourn, Director, Project Head Start

Ithaca (for Newfield Program)

Mr. Ernest J. Cole, Cooperative extension agent and chairman, Community Involvement & Public Relations Committee, Tompkins County Resource Development Committee
Mrs. Susan B. Matson, Cooperative Extension Agent

Mrs. John DeWire, chairman, Human Resources Committee, Tompkins County Resource Development Committee
Mrs. Kathryn M. Jones, Executive Director, Tompkins County Economic Opportunity Corporation

Red Creek

Mr. Wesley R. Bourdette, Executive Director, Wayne County Action Program, Inc.
Mrs. Marian Curtis, Director, Project Head Start
Mr. Ralph DeMas, School District Principal
Mr. A.G. Palermo, Publisher, Wayuga Community Newspapers
Mr. Anthony St. Phillips, former elementary principal, Red Creek Central School

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